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ABSTRACT

This report describes how the U.S. Delegation prepared for and participated in the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women. The conference dealt with the topics of equality, development, and peace. The report covers five years, beginning with U.S. participation in the International Women's Year Conference, Mexico City, 1975, and continuing through to the present. Background information, the agenda, committee reports, and conference outcomes and conclusions are discussed. The World Conference was a difficult meeting for the United States because many parts of the agenda was politicized. The conference sparked a great deal of interest among women's organizations and feminist activists in the United States. In its preparation process, the U.S. Secretariat continually explained the meaning of a government-to-government conference, i.e., that delegates are instructed and, when speaking officially, must reflect official U.S. government positions and policies. Unfortunately, there were instances when U.S. policies ran contrary to what some American women wanted the delegation to say, and when this happened, resentment and frustration grew. For many American women, Copenhagen was their first exposure to a forum where anti-American sentiment was openly expressed. Although on a personal level delegates and observers interacted in a spirit of friendship, during formal presentations and discussions many statements critical of the United States were made. The problem was exacerbated by the naivete of some U.S. women. The United States voted against the conference's Program of Action because of three paragraphs which refer to the Middle East in ways which are antithetical to U.S. foreign policy. (Author/RM)

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REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON THE UN DECADE FOR WOMEN: EQUALITY, DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE

Copenhagen, Denmark
July 14-30, 1980

Submitted to the Secretary of State
Edmund S. Muskie
January 1981

Prepared by the Office of the U.S. Secretariat for
the World Conference of the UN
Decade for Women, 1980
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Permanent U.S. Representative to the
United Nations
and
Sarah Weddington
Assistant to the President
Co-Heads of the U.S. Delegation

SO 013 959

Statement of Secretary Muskie

on Transmittal of

The Final Report of the World Conference on the U.N. Decade for Women

January 16, 1981

I am transmitting to the President today the Final Report of The World Conference on the U.N. Decade for Women. The report is a lasting testament to the hard work, expertise, and commitment of the U.S. delegation and all of those who so ably supported it.

The U.N. Decade for Women represents one of the major efforts of this country to bring women into the mainstream of socio-political development worldwide. The Mid-Decade Conference in Copenhagen provided an excellent opportunity to view progress to date and to assess problems and opportunities for the future.

Although the United States was unable to vote for the Program of Action emerging from the Copenhagen Conference because of statements and recommendations within the document that are contrary to our basic foreign policy precepts, there are many excellent recommendations within the Program and several positive results from the Conference as a whole.

One of these was the spirit of cooperation in the U.S. delegation that bound its members into a strong and effective unit. This country now has a cadre of women with firsthand experience and knowledge of the United Nations system and its special parliamentary procedures. The group which worked so hard and so effectively in Copenhagen has my personal thanks and the appreciation of the Department of State.

Another major outcome of Copenhagen was the signing of the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women by 73 countries during the course of the Conference, focussing the world's attention positively on women. The U.S. was a signatory of that Convention and the Convention has been forwarded by President Carter to the U.S. Senate where we hope it will receive early consideration. The United States was also successful in initiating and co-sponsoring several resolutions that are now embodied in the United Nations system. These include resolutions concerning elderly women, disabled women, women as refugees, the integration of women into the United Nations system, rural women, and access to safe drinking water for women. It is our hope that in the second half of the Decade these resolutions are translated into on-going projects.

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FORWARD

The Report of the United States Delegation to the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, presents an overview of the preparation for and participation in that event. It is the intention of the authors that the report be factual and analytical. Where appropriate, recommendations are made.

The Report covers five years, beginning with U.S. participation in the International Women's Year Conference, Mexico City, 1975, and continuing through to the present. In many sections only the highlights of certain activities or events are cited. However, many documents are referenced for those who wish more information.

The World Conference for Women was a difficult meeting for the United States. It presented hard choices with important consequences. Because the U.S. ultimately voted against the Program of Action for the second half of the UN Decade for Women, many Americans are unclear about U.S. future commitment to the Decade. This report does not answer all those questions, but it does attempt to put the issues in perspective, explain the choices and hopefully outline the consequences.

Regardless of the actual vote on the Program of Action, the preparation for and participation in the World Conference for Women represented a unique and important opportunity for all American women to become more actively involved in U.S. foreign policy. More American women understand the intricacies of the Middle East, the New International Economic Order, the situation of women refugees. Women, as never before, have been exposed to the world of multi-lateral diplomacy; and many have seen, first hand, the difficulties and tensions facing the world today.

One of the lessons learned from the Copenhagen experience is that women must be encouraged to actively participate in the foreign policy decision-making process. Such inclusion will benefit American women and the United States. Women have formed international networks that share information across economic, political and social lines. Women have found areas of commonality that can be used as bridges to furthering discussion of other more delicate problems. Women have major contributions to make to the process of world peace, and must not become the forgotten voice in foreign policy discussions.

The first five years of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, show some progress towards the attainment of these Decade goals; but the assessment also points to the need to continue working towards major societal changes. It may be impossible to achieve in a short ten years what has taken society centuries to create, but women worldwide are increasingly participating in their country's government and committing themselves to change. In the United States, the Women's Movement has a long and vibrant history, the World Conference only one event on the continuum. The next five years of the UN Decade for Women will be a time of further change and increased activity as women move towards equality and the full integration into society.

I. INTRODUCTORY INFORMATION

A. TITLE OF CONFERENCE:

The World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, 1980; also referred to as the World Conference for Women, the Copenhagen Conference and the Mid-Decade Conference.

B. DATE: July 14-30, 1980

C. LOCATION:

Bella Center, Copenhagen, Denmark

NOTE: Originally, the site of the World Conference for Women was Tehran, Iran. However, after the Iranian Revolution, in January 1979 the Government of Iran withdrew its offer to host the Conference. Subsequently, both India and the Dominican Republic offered to host the Conference, however, neither site had the necessary facilities. Finally, Denmark offered and was accepted.

D. COPENHAGEN CONFERENCE OBJECTIVES:

The mandate of the Copenhagen Conference was to review and appraise the progress, or lack of it, women have made in the first five years of the UN Decade for Women, and to develop action strategies that could be implemented on either the national, regional or international level to strengthen efforts begun during the first five years of the Decade. To this end, the major activity of the World Conference for Women was development of a Program of Action for the second half of the UN Decade for Women. This Program of Action would carefully examine the situation of women throughout the world and set forth various possibilities for change which individual nations, regions and international bodies could refer to and follow in their efforts to advance the status of women.

The Program of Action developed at the Copenhagen Conference was never intended to replace or supersede the World Plan of Action adopted in Mexico City, 1975. The goals and ideas set forth in the World Plan of Action are still valid today and will remain so until the end of the UN Decade for Women in 1985. Rather, the Program of Action was to build on the principles and goals of the World Plan of Action and set forth specific recommendations to help facilitate their ultimate attainment by 1985.

II. BACKGROUND

A. REVIEW OF UN ACTIVITIES DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE DECADE:

1. International Women's Year Conference, Mexico City, 1975:

The Official Conference

The World Conference of the International Women's Year was held in Mexico City, Mexico, June 19 to July 2, 1975. This first United Nations Conference devoted specifically to the interests of women was also the first UN Conference where a majority of delegates were women. In attendance were: 1,300 delegates representing 133 nations, 7 intergovernmental organizations, 21 UN bodies and specialized agencies, 8 liberation movements, and 114 nongovernmental organizations with consultative status with the UN. The U.S. Delegation had 43 members including 10 Congressional Advisors.

The Work of the Conference

The Plenary, Committee I and Committee II constituted the working groups of the official Conference. The First Committee dealt with amendments to the World Plan of Action, a draft of which had been prepared by the UN Secretariat and reviewed by a Consultative Committee of 23 nations. The Second Committee was concerned with current trends and changes in the status and roles of women and men as well as equity considerations in the integration of women in development. In the Plenary, which ran concurrently with Committee I and Committee II, each representative from the 133 countries was given the floor for a short speech. Then, in the concluding days of the Conference, the work of the Committees was discussed, the World Plan of Action approved by consensus, and, after deliberation, the Declaration of Mexico and 35 Resolutions were passed.

The World Plan of Action

The World Plan of Action, the most important document and greatest achievement of the Conference, provides guidelines for action to improve the status of women, nationally, regionally, and international. The U.S.

delegation was successful in strengthening the World Plan by adding the concept of equal pay for work of equal value. However, its effort to add "sexism" to the official list of forms of oppression failed with several delegations giving as their reason for rejection that the word did not translate into their language.

The World Plan of Action still stands as the most viable international document on the status of women worldwide.

Resolutions

The Conference adopted 35 Resolutions with the United States initiating or co-sponsoring the following: (1) Measures for the Integration of Women in Development, (2) Education and Training, (3) The Situation of Women in the Employ of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies, (4) Women's Contribution to the World Peace through Participation in International Conferences, (5) Popular Participation (Self-Help), (6) International Research and Training Institute for the Promotion of Women, (7) Family Planning and the Full Integration of Women in Development.

The Declaration of Mexico

The Declaration of Mexico, adopted by a vote of 89-3 (U.S.)-18, affirms support of the objectives of International Women's Year. However, the Group of 77 (Third World Nations) who drafted the Declaration, link these goals with the New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. The G-77's rationale in this respect was that a reordering of the economic order to correct the imbalances between rich and poor countries must be undertaken before equality can be considered. Otherwise, full partnership will mean only shared proverty.

In this Declaration, zionism, was included in the litany of UN "isms." Condemnation of zionism is an attempt to challenge the legitmacy of the modern State of Israel as it is the ideology upon which Israel is based. The U.S. voted against adoption of this Declaration.

The Tribune

The Tribune, the unofficial meeting organized by nongovernmental organizations in consultative status with the UN and held concurrently, attracted 6,000 participants over the two-week period of the Conference. Two highlights of the Tribune were the popular daily newspaper, Xilonen, with a U.S. woman editor, and the establishment of a Sterring Committee of 15 women to draft changes to strengthen the World Plan of Action. In regard to the latter, the revisions of this Committee were discussed and endorsed by a meeting of 2,000 Tribune attendees. The group then requested the Secretary-General of the Conference to allow them ten minutes of Plenary time in the official Conference to present their document but they were denied this priviledge because they were not accredited to the Conference. The United States delegation supported the request of the Tribune participants and also arranged for the U.S. Embassy to print copies of the Tribune documents in English and in Spanish.

On three special occasions, the U.S. delegation was in attendance at the Tribune.

Major Accomplishments

*The World Plan of Action called upon the United Nations to proclaim the decade 1976-1985 as the United Nations Decade for Women, Equality, Development, and Peace.

*The Conference set a mid-decade target date of 1980 for a Second World Conference -- The World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, 1980.

*The Voluntary Fund for the UN Decade for Women was created by the United Nations General Assembly following the International Women's Year, 1975.

*Resolution 26, subsequently endorsed by the UN General Assembly, called for the establishment of an International Research and Training Institute for the Promotion of Women, now entitled the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women.

2. The UN Voluntary Fund for Women

The Voluntary Fund was created to implement the programs of the International Women's Year and subsequently the World Plan of Action. The Fund was mandated by the United Nations to provide assistance particularly to the least developed countries with limited financial resources for carrying out their national plans and programs for the advancement of women. The emphasis is on projects that assist rural women and poor women in urban areas. This emphasis is entirely consistent with the U.S. policy on development assistance as directed by the Congress.

Until the major funds within and outside the United Nations system have made support for women a regular part of their development assistance, a special fund for women has a vital role to play by demonstrating how to maximize the benefits of women's contributions to their families and their countries.

The objectives of the Fund are:

-- to create innovative or experimental activities that may, if successful, later be funded from other sources;

-- to support small projects that might not be acceptable to larger funds; and

-- to supplement other work without waiting for the negotiations which would precede an additional phase of an ongoing project.

The Voluntary Fund is currently capitalized at $11.6 million. The United States is thus far the largest single contributor to this Fund, having contributed $5.7 million of the total budget, with an additional $1 million pledge for FY 1981.

The major problem which faces the Voluntary Fund is simply that demands on the Fund are not commensurate with its financial resources. This is partly as a result of the Fund's growing range of activity. It is also due to procedural changes which now permit the Fund to accept country-level projects directly rather than through the United Nations Development Programs (UNDP) regional commissions.

The Fund is administered by a Consultative Committee composed of representatives of five regions of the world. At the present time, these include: German Democratic Republic, India, Jamaica, Nigeria, and the United Kingdom. The members of the committee advise the Secretary General who must report on the use of the Fund annually to the General Assembly.

The Consultative Committee rejected all project applications submitted at its first meetings as either duplicative of other UN agency projects or inadequately prepared. To avoid repetition of this problem, all project proposals are now carefully coordinated through the UN regional commissions if they involve several countries, and with the UNDP if they concern a single country. Certain country-level projects may be submitted directly to the Voluntary Fund, but supervision and disbursement of funds is still coordinated through the UNDP country office. Project proposals may be formulated by governments, intergovernmental, nongovernmental or United Nations' organizations. Projects initiated by individuals must be submitted through a recognized institution or organization.

The Fund is expected to exist concurrently with the UN Decade for Women. At the end of the Decade it is expected that the Voluntary Fund will be abolished and that an effort will be made to integrate the programs supported by it into the larger developmental fund of the UN, the UNDP. For purposes of comparison, the U.S. contribution to UNDP for FY 1981 was $126,100 million.

The Voluntary Fund has proved essential to the programs of the UN Decade for Women and stands as a clear and positive example of UN member states' commitment to advancing the status of women worldwide.

3. Internatioal Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women

The International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) undertakes research designed to provide the basis for the formulation of policies and programs concerning the participation of women in development. It also assists in the design of research for the monitoring of changes in the situation of women and the impact on daily lives. The Institute is to develop and undertake training programs closely linked to its research program. The type of training to be offered includes symposia, seminars, in-service training, and courses of various duration.

The Institute is governed by a Board of Trustees, composed of a President, appointed by the Secretary General, and ten members serving in their individual capacities, appointed by the Economic and Social Council on the nomination of the Secretary-General with due regard to geographic distribution. The term of membership is three years with a maximum of two terms. The United States is represented on the Board by Irene Tinker. The Board has overall responsibility for the approval, supervision and evaluation of the Institute's work program.

The Institute, a United Nations body, is financed through voluntary contributions to a United Nations trust fund. It enjoys the degree of autonomy granted to it by the Secretary General in order to ensure its efficient operation, taking into account the fact that it works in close collaboration and coordination with institutes within and outside the United Nations system.

The Work Program of the Institute will be developed in three main areas: research, training, and information, documentation and communication.

Research

The long-term objectives of INSTRAW's research program have been defined as follows:

(a) to collect, classify and analyze on a continuous basis, information on research programs and make it available to professionals within and outside the United Nations system, as well as to the general public;

(b) to sponsor or undertake research where there is need for comparative interregional and intersectional studies;

(c) to improve the specificity, comparability and reliability of pertinent statistical data so that a proper diagnosis of the real situation of women can be made as a basis for policies and planning;

(d) to develop social and economic indicators that will facilitate the assessment or measurement of the progress made as it regards women's income and status, and their participation in development;

(e) to develop research methodologies required to measure the economic values and returns of women's inputs and the work performed by them in agriculture, other sectors of the economy and the household;

(f) to evolve methodologies and guidelines designed to facilitate the conduct of research projects pertaining to the advancement of women;

(g) to promote such strategies as community self-survey methods, taking advantage wherever possible of the national and regional centers in these efforts; and

(h) to prepare cross-cultural and other specific studies regarding the most vulnerable women, and the causes of discriminatory practices, customs and attitudes affecting women's status in the community.

At present, the research program focuses on obtaining and publishing information concerning ongoing research activites within and outside the United Nations system, in order to identify areas where further research is needed within the overall research framework indicated above.

Training

The training activities of the Institute will be carried out through symposia, seminars, in-service training, courses of varying duration and internships and fellowships at the Institute.

The permanent objectives of the training activities of the Institute, as set up by the Board of Trustees, are the following:

(a) to collect, classify and disseminate information on training programs related to the situation of women and make it available to professionals within and outside the United Nations system;

(b) to develop knowledge and consciousness about the position of women in society and its impact on development, and to promote awareness in both men and women of the political, legal, economic and social structures and attitudes that condition their lives;

(c) to generate innovative techniques and new behavioral patterns and to disseminate information on effective training programs carried out at the Institute and at the regional and national levels;

(d) to provide a forum for intellectual stimulation for scholars and researchers and to generate concepts, new ideas and strategies for the advancement of women;

(e) to impart techniques for planning, decision-making, leadership and group organization;

(f) to promote literacy programs and training in scientific and technological skills for women in agricultural and industrial production, trade, management and other sectors of the economy;

(g) to develop training by means of fellowships, courses, visiting professors, exchange of positions, and so on;

(h) to sponsor various types of participatory activities, such as seminars and workshops, on vital questions related to the integration of women in national and international development strategies; and

(i) to assist in training trainers so as to enable them to carry out similar training programs in their own regions and countries.

The current INSTRAW training activities aim at collecting and publishing information on the ongoing activities within and outside the United Nations system, with a view to identifying areas where further efforts are needed in the general perspectives laid out above.

Information, Documentation and Communication

According to its mandate, INSTRAW will place special emphasis on the following issues in its information, documentation and communication programs:

(a) enhancement of women's access to information for policy action at the national, regional and international levels;

(b) collection and dissemination of information on women's roles in society, on the means available for improving the position of women and the steps being taken at the national, regional and international levels to this end, as well as on the institutions providing such information, in order to facilitate wider circulation and national and international comparisons; and

(c) development of information techniques that would be useful at every level through the identification of target groups, special attention being given to the economically and socially most disadvantaged women.

In the near future, INSTRAW plans to establish an appropriate information collection retrieval processing and dissemination system. A news bulletin highlighting some of this information and also reporting on the activities of the Institute on a regular basis will also be published.

Four specific activities have been developed for the work program for 1980. These are:

(a) a comprehensive survey of existing data and research activities on women, carried out within the United Nations system and in international, regional and national institutions, to identify gaps in knowledge requiring further research; publication of the preliminary results of the survey including suggestions for further action in the field of research;

(b) inventory of ongoing training activities for women within and outside the United Nations system, in order to identify areas where further effort is needed; publication of the preliminary results of this inventory including suggestions for further action in the field of training;

(c) publication of one booklet on selected successful national machineries for the advancement of women and four posters on selected activities achieved by women; and

(d) publication of an information brochure on the Institute.

Originally, the site of the Institute was to be Tehran, Iran. However, in January 1979, the Iranian Government withdrew its invitation to host the Institute. In late 1979, the UN General Assembly accepted the offer of the Dominican Republic to act as host country. During the interim, while facilities are being established in the Dominican Republic, the work of the Institute is being carried out in New York.

The United States supports the work of the Institute and contributed $400,000 in 1977 for its establishment. Because the work of the Institute is really just beginning, it is impossible to assess any of its programs. However, it is expected that in the next five years of the Decade, the Institute will become an active arm of the UN system.

B. REVIEW OF UNITED STATES ACTIVITIES DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE DECADE:

The UN Decade for Women generated much interest and excitement in the United States. The American Women's Movement, already strong and viable, looked upon this specially designated Decade as a time for worldwide recognition of the contribution women make to society and as a time for determined efforts by governments to advance and promote the status of women. Three major initiatives took place in the United States as a result of the UN

Decade for Women. The first was the calling of the National Women's Conference, Houston 1977, the second was the expansion of U.S. activity abroad in the area of Women and Development, and the third was the issuance of the Foreign Policy Directive on the Worldwide Status and Rights of Women.

1. The Spirit of Houston, The National Women's Conference, November 19-21, 1977:

On November 19, 1977, 20,000 women and some men came to the opening of the first government sponsored and funded National Women's Conference in Houston, Texas. Of that number, 1,403 were official delegates from the 50 states and territories; 186 were alternates; and 370 were delegates-at-large. The remainder included observers, advisors, volunteers, staff, representatives from every major women's organizations, women from government, and members of the general public. Those who came were from every social, economic, ethnic and racial group: homemakers and career women, women and men from government and private industry. The diversity truly was representative of the population of the United States. But though diverse in background, those who attended the National Conference were united with respect to their concern for women's rights and the goal of equality of opportunity for all Americans regardless of sex or minority status.

The National Conference, a three-day meeting from November 19 through November 21, was an outgrowth of Executive and Congressional action and support was generated in large part by a proclamation by the General Assembly of the United Nations setting 1974 as International Women's Year. On January 30, 1974, President Nixon issued a proclamation that called for national observation of the International Women's Year (IWY) by government (local, state, regional and federal) and the public sector. This was followed by Executive Order No. 11832 issued by President Ford on January 9, 1975, which created the National Commission on the Observance of IWY to promote equality between the sexes. He named 35 persons to the National Commission and directed them to deal with the inequities that bar women from full equality and full participation "in our Nation's life." Subsequently, the National Commission set up a series of events and began operations to respond to this directive. Thirteen committees were created to investigate special aspects of discrimination against women. The National Commission also held hearings, conducted research and made surveys on woman's status in the United States and held meetings throughout the U.S. to inform women at every level about the problems of discrimination on the basis of sex. In its report, "...To Form a More Perfect Commission set forth 115 recommendations for remedial action.

President Ford also established an Interdepartmental Task Force for IWY made up of at least two representatives (a woman and a man) from each Federal department and agency to examine the treatment and status of women in the Federal sector.

In June 1975, the United Nations held its IWY Conference in Mexico City attended by delegates from the United States and more than 130 other nations. A World Plan of Action to improve the condition of women worldwide and a proclamation setting 1976-1985 as the United Nations Decade for Women were voted for unanimously by the government-to-government meeting. Each member state attending the Mexico City meeting was to work for its own program of action for women.

The United States' response was the enactment of legislation proposing a national women's conference. Public Law 94-167 was passed by the House and Senate in December 1975 and signed into law. The National Commission was directed to convene a national women's conference to be preceded by State and regional meetings. The objectives were several: to give recognitiion to the contributions by women to national progress and development; to assess the status of women in all aspects of national life; to identify barriers to full equality for women; and to make recommendations for elimination of those barriers and for actions to achieve equal status. To accomplish this, the Congress appropriated $5 million, estimated at a nickel for every female in the United States.

By an Executive Order issued on March 28, 1977, President Carter increased the members of the National Commission to 42 and named former Congresswoman Bella Abzug as presiding officer.

Democratic diversity was the goal and heart of the National Conference planning. Indeed, the legislation calling for the Conference required diverse representation, including those from the wide variety of groups that work for women's concerns, with special emphasis on the inclusion of low-income women and "members of diverse racial, ethnic and religious groups, and women of all ages."

The National Commission allocated the funds to insure full participation by all women regardless of their status. For example, scholarships and free or low-cost transportation and lodging were made available to those who otherwise could not have attended the meetings preliminary to the National Conference. Day care facilities were provided for mothers. More than 150,000 persons came to the State and territory meetings and elected delegates to the Conference.

The main work of the delegates to the National Women's Conference was to develop and to vote on a proposed National Plan of Action. Working with committees from the various States, the Commission prepared an agenda that would in substance reflect the 115 recommendations in "...To form a More Perfect Union..." but would be vastly reduced in number. The official working group of each State and territory also was encouraged to offer recommendations. Those which had the substantive concurrence of 12 or more States or territories, were included in the proposed plan of action, as were recommendations from the National Commission.

Finally, there were 26 proposals or planks encompassed in the proposed National Plan of Action. All were open to debate. Only one came through the State meetings and, finally, the National meeting unchanged; it stated: "The Equal Rights Amendment should be ratified." Of the 26 planks, only one was rejected. That was the plank to establish a Cabinet post for woman's concerns. The almost unanimous and spontaneous feeling of the delegates was that such a position ran counter to the goal of equality because the Cabinet position would be special treatment under the law and not equal treatment, the ultimate goal of the women's movement.

Subsequently, the National Commission concentrated largely on preparing a report to the President and the Congress. This report was presented "to the President, the Congress and the People of the United States," in March 1978, entitled The Spirit of Houston.

With the adoption of the National Plan of Action, the objective of the First National Women's Conference had been achieved; now the work to implement the National Plan of Action had to begin. Though there were no longer Federal funds to maintain the contacts between delegates and others involved, the National Commission held several meetings and the Continuing Committee of the National Women's Conference was established.

The Continuing Committee is made up of representatives of women's organizations and feminist activists. It is an independent, non-profit organizational and has perhaps the best network of women's rights activists in the United States. In 1979, President Carter re-established the National Advisory Committee for Women, renaming it the President Advisory Committee for Women (PACW); Lynda Johnson Robb was named as Chairperson and Judy Langford Carter, Honorary Chairperson. The Continuing Committee monitors progress within the United States in achieving the goals of the National Plan of Action and the PACW performs a similar task reporting and advising their findings to the President.

2. Women in Development:

In the late sixties, development specialists became aware that the almost exclusive focus on economic development and large scale technology was not helping poorer countries catch up with the richer and that within developing countries the gap between rich and poor was increasing. To remedy this, specialists in development formulated an approach with a wider and more diverse focus which included concern for social and political development and for basic human needs. For the first time, consideration was given to the welfare of women in their traditional roles in health, nutrition, and education for their families; and later the importance of women's productive roles also was recognized. Women in development thus became a relatively new area of consideration.

As the approach gradually changed, so did some of the earlier accepted formulations. For example, it had been assumed that women would benefit automatically from development assistance programs, just as it also was assumed that everyone in a country benefitted when the GNP rose. Neither assumption is accepted now. Rather, development planners are encouraged to examine the possible effect of proposed programs on women's double burden in the home and to determine whether a project can succeed without an adequate understanding of women's contribution to it.

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1971 was amended in 1973 to require that particular attention be given to the integration of women in national economies. The Agency for International Development (AID) responded in 1974 with Policy Determination #60, making "women in development" an Agency policy and establishing the Office of Women in Development (WID). The next year, 1975, was proclaimed by the United Nations as International Women's Year. At the IWY Conference in Mexico City that year, Women and men from all over the world agreed on a World Plan of Action to involve women's economic and social position.

In 1978, Section 113 of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act was modified to provide up to $10 million a year "be used, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, for assistance... primarily to support activities which will increase the economic productivity and income-earning capacity of women." Congress mandated in 1979 that the Agency report on its support of the Mid-Decade Conference and assess the recommendations arising from the Conference in terms of their implications for U.S. policy. From 1973 to the present the issue of women in development has gone from, at best, a peripheral concern of development planners to an ongoing, legitimate part of development thinking.

A major problem for the women in this development effort was, and continues to be, finding a way to assess accurately the impact of projects on women. To do this, baseline data on women is required. Several AID missions have produced women's profiles for their countries. Detailed data on women for most countries, however, is very difficult to obtain. A project has been developed by AID in conjunction with the Bureau of the Census to produce an internationally comparable data base, and the role of sex-differentiated data in evaluation has been examined carefully and is increasingly part of Agency evaluation efforts.

To assist in the analytical task, a Resource Center was set up in the WID office to collect and disseminate materials. A number of the WID funded studies have had an impact on international thinking as well as on AID efforts. These include studies on female-headed households, migration, female employment, women and water and women in forestry. A major conclusion is that success is more likely if women participate in the planning of a project and when technology is involved, if they are trained in its use and maintenance. Also, the WID office has sponsored seminars and conferences on various aspects of women in development.

The increasing concern with integrating women into the development process also requires that there be people available who not only can identify the issues, but have the skill and experience to provide appropriate technical assistance. Rosters of experienced consultants on women in development have been collected for AID use.

The WID office also works with U.S. and international women's organizations, such as the Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters and the National Council of Negro Women, which have ongoing contacts with women's organizations in developing countries and are in a position to develop programs for leadership and management training, agricultrual production, education, and more recently, legal rights. Since women are underrepresented in the bureaucracies of developing countries, as they are all over the world, local women's associations are considered to be the best vehicle for identifying and grappling with women's problems locally. The importance of these non-governmental women's associations has been fully recognized in the Program of Action of the Mid-Decade Conference.

The ongoing work of the Agency is represented by projects developed at the country missions and the regional bureaus. To promote women in development efforts at this level, two types of projects have been identified: the specified project which is set up for the benefit of women and the component projects which integrates a women's component in a larger project. The ideal, of course, is to integrate women into all projects. Short of that goal, the specific projects for women may be used as the "cutting edge" for model projects which may be replicated later in large integrated projects. Specific projects for women also are appropriate at present in societies where males and females, by custom, are segregated from one another. As of FY 1979, over 300 WID specific and component projects for women have been identified. The WID Office has responsibility for determining whether the results of these projects effectively benefit women. All projects are required to address the issue of their impact on women, and WID representatives take part in the formulation and review of projects.

The Agency also cooperates with other donors in efforts to bring as many resources as possible to bear on women in development programs. Since 1975, WID representatives of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development/Development Assistance Committee have met informally to discuss issues. In 1978, a WID sponsored study on the extent to which female heads of households have been ignored in most development assistance programs was presented to this group. Such studies have had an impact on international conferences and have been widely disseminated. In preparation for the World Conference for Women, the Agency contributed substantively by means of background papers and preliminary conferences, and it funded the attendance of 57 Third World participants at the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) Forum.

3. Foreign Policy Directive:

In May 1979, Secretary of State, Mr. Cyrus Vance, issued an important foreign policy directive on the Worldwide Status and Rights of Women. Mr. Vance's successor, Edmund Muskie, recommitted the U.S. to this directive shortly after his appointment. The following is the substantive text of the directive.

"A key objective of U.S. foreign policy is to advance worldwide the status and conditions of women. I believe that special attention should be given this issue as we approach the mid-way point in the United Nations Decade for Women, and as we prepare for the second Women's World Conference, scheduled to be held in Copenhagen, July 1980.

Despite the many comendable instruments and resolutions on this subject, agreed to by virtually all nations, and despite some encouraging developments in recent years, the fact remains that progress has been too slow. Women continue often to be victimized, their interests and viewpoints overlooked, their educational and job opportunities limited. Physical abuse of women persists to a shocking degree.

Mindful of the vital contribution which women can make to national development, the Congress in 1973 adopted the "Percy Amendment" to the Foreign Assistance Act, which require that out aid programs encourage and promote the participation of women in the national economies of developing countries. Yet, the world community, to a distressing degree, continues to be deprived of the full participation and talents of the most-overlooked asset of nations: Women. Meanwhile, urbanization and new technologies seem to create more problems for women than for men.

Most effective in dealing with these problems will be the efforts of women themselves, working together nationally and internationally, but they need more active support of leaders, governments, and organizations, if the spirit of internationally approved resolutions is to be translated into effective practice."

The Directive has already proven significant. Not only are American diplomats abroad encouraged to be more sensitive to women's concerns in their host countries, but als are instructed to reassess policies relating to female embassy personnel and to put more women Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) in visible, responsible positions; thus, demonstrating the U.S. commitment to equality. For furhter information relating to this Directive, see "Department Notice" June 14, 1979 and April 16, 1980.

III. UN PREPARATIONS

The United Nations began preparations for the World Conference in 1977. Six major activities made up the preparation process: (1) circulation of an extensive questionnaire to all member states requesting information on the status of national implementation of the World Plan of Action, (2) establishment of the UN Secretariat and the naming of the Conference Secretary General, (3) creation of the 23 member nation Preparatory Committee, (4) review of Conference preparations and documentation by the 28th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women, (5) convening of regional economic commission meetings, and (6) examination of particular issues and programs by UN specialized agencies.

A. The Questionnaire:

In 1978 the United Nations circulated a questionnaire requesting information from member governments in areas of (1) National Policies, Planning and Monitoring, (2) Legislation, (3) Political Participation, International Cooperation and the Strengthening of International Peace, (4) Education and Training, (5) Employment and Related Economic Roles, and (6) Health. Ninety-eight governments responded. The information gathered through this questionnaire was used in preparation of conference documentation.

One of the biggest problems encountered in 1975 was the lack of a real data base. Although there is still the need for further refinement, the information gathered through the questionnaire, is the basis for beginning a world wide statistical profile on women. (See U.S. Questionnaire Response, Tab 1.)

B. Establishment of Conference Secretariat:

In January 1979, the General Assembly called upon the Secretary General of the United Nations to appoint a Conference Secretary General. In February 1979, Ms. Lucille Mair was named to this post; she began here duties on April 1, 1979. The Conference Secretariat was tasked with overseeing all preparations for the World Conference.

C. Preparatory Committee:

In December 1977, the General Assembly called for the establishment of a Preparatory Committee (PrepCom). Twenty-three nations were appointed to sit on the Committee; other nations participated as observers; UN bodies and specialized agencies as well as liberation movements and non-governmental organizations attended.

The PrepCom met three times; June 19-30, 1978 (Vienna), August 27-September 8, 1979, (New York), and April 7-18, 1980, (New York). Discussions included: organization of work, provisional agenda, conference documentation, rules of procedure, and overall conference preparations.

The officers elected at the first meeting of the PrepCom were:

Chairman: Ms. Lena Gueye (Senegal)

Vice-Chairman: Professor Helga Horz (German Democratic Republic)

Mr. F. L. Schlingemann (Netherlands)

Ms. Veronica Penaleyer de Lepage (Venezuela)

Rapportuer: Ms. Soheyla Shahkar (Iran)

At the second meeting of the PrepCom, the following were elected as officers:

Chairman: Ms. Maimouna Kane (Senegal)

Vice-Chairman: Professor Helga Horz (German Democratic Republic)
Ms. Laetitia van den Assum (Netherlands)
Ms. Sylvia Albo (Venezuela)

Rapportuer: Ms. Nirmala Buch (India)

At the third meeting of the PrepCom, the officers remained the same as the second. Note that the Rapportuer's nationality changed between the first and second PrepCom meeting. This is due to the change in the government of Iran and the withdrawal of Iran's invitation to host the World Conference.

For the United States, the most contentious issue which emerged during the three PrepCom meetings was the introduction of the Economic Commission for Western Asia (ECWA) report on the Palestinian women's agenda item. This document, A/CONF. 94/21 was considered by the U.S. to be rhetorical and polemical, and very anti-Israel. After extensive debate, the document was accepted as an official Conference document. However, contrary to earlier expectations, the document did not receive a great deal of attention during the actual Copenhagen Conference.

D. The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW):

The CSW met in Vienna, February 25-March 5, 1980. At its regular biennial meeting, the agenda consisted almost primarily of discussion of World Conference preparations. Most of the discussions were routine; however, one agenda item concerned possible recommendations to the Economic and Social Council to add to the World Conference agenda the question of elaborating a draft declaration on the participation of women in the struggle for the strengthening of international peace and security against colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, aggression, occupation and all forms of foreign domination. After prolonged discussion, the CSW delegates recommended that this issue not appear on the Copenhagen Conference agenda, instead that it be referred to the General Assembly for discussion in the 35th Session.

E. Regional Economic Commission Meetings:

The five UN economic commissions met in preparation for the World Conference.

Economic Commission of Europe (ECE): July 9-12, 1979, Paris, France
Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), November 5-9, 1979, New Delhi, India
Economic Commission for Latin American (ECLA), November 12-16, 1979, Macuto, Venezuela
Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), December 3-7, 1979, Lusaka, Zambia
Economic Commission for Western Asia (ECWA), December 10-13, 1979, Damascus, Syria

The United States sent delegations to the ECE, ESCAP, ECLA, and ECA meetings.

Specialized Agencies

Many of the UN Specialized Agencies examined their programs for their impact on women. Special documentation was prepared for the Conference and many of these agencies presented speeches in the Plenary Sessions outlining the scope of their work and the progress they see relating to women.

IV. UNITED STATES PREPARATIONS

The United States began preparing for the Mid-Decade Conference in July 1979 when the Department of State and the White House formulated plans for the creation of the Office of the U.S. Secretariat for the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, 1980. This office was established in November 1979 at the Department of State; its specific purpose to coordinate preparation for U.S. participation in the World Conference. Ms. Vivian Lowery Derryck was named as its Director, Ms. Maureen Whalen, Deputy Director.

Previously, on September 12, 1979, a large meeting was held at the Department of State for representatives of women's organizations. This meeting, sponsored by the International Women's Program Office-Bureau of International Organizations, attracted over 800 participants. At this time, attendees discussed and suggested possible activities to be held in preparation for the Copenhagen Conference, guidelines for delegate selection and the substance of expected Conference agenda items.

Although the Department of State became the focal point for U.S. preparations, it was a government-wide activity. The following Federal departments and agencies contributed money, staff or services, and substantive information: the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Education, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Labor, ACTION, the Agency for International Development, the Environmental Protection Agency, the International Communications Agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, the Office of Personnel Management, and the United States Mission to the United Nations.

At the request of the United Nations, the United States prepared three extensive national papers on the Copenhagen Conference subtheme, Education, Employment and Health. These papers were prepared by the Department of Education, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Health and Human Services. Copies are attached, Tab 2.

Furthermore, the United States participated in UN preparatory events, including, submitting a detailed response to the questionnaire, and attending the three Preparatory Committee meetings, the Commission on the Status of Women meeting, 28th Session; and the economic commissions regional meetings. For further discussion of these activities see Section III of this report.

The three major activities coordinated by the U.S. Secretariat in preparation for the Conference were: (1) conducting a major national outreach program, (2) selecting the delegation and (3) preparing position papers and contingency papers. During the post-Copenhagen period, the U.S. Secretariat held a large debriefing at the Department of State for representatives of women's organizations and other non-governmental organizations, participated in various meetings on the Copenhagen Conference and prepared this final report. The U.S. Secretariat was dissolved in December 1980 after completing its work.

A. The National Outreach Program:

The national outreach program coordinated by the U.S. Secretariat consisted of five two-day regional conferences co-sponsored by the Department of State and the Environmental Protection Agency, the Departments of Education, Labor and Health and Human Services, four one-day meetings co-sponsored by women's organizations or coalitions of women's organizations, and a national conference held at the Department of State. Conferences and meetings were held in:

Dallas, Texas (March 14-15)
Denver, Colorado (March 27-28)
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (May 9-10)
Boston, Massachusetts (May 17)
Minneapolis, Minnesota (May 17)
New York, New York (June 2)
San Francisco, California (June 6-7)
Washington, D. C. (June 12-13)
Kansas City, Kansas (June 21)
Atlanta, Georgia (June 28)

Over 20,000 individuals were invited to participate; 4,000 actually attended. Conferences followed a workshop format, particular aspects of health, education and employment were discussed as well as the other international issues on the Copenhagen Conference agenda. For a detailed explanation of the national outreach program see Tab 3, a report entitled, UNITED STATES WOMEN: Issues and Progress in the UN Decade for Women, 1976-1985.

The presentations and discussions at the regional conferences provided new insights into the problems facing women today, and suggested future actions which the Federal government, as well as other policy making bodies, can take to advance the status of women. However, since no report of this type can identify all of the appropriate Federal actions for solving even one problem, a more generic process is followed. A checklist is presented elaborating some actions which can routinely be undertaken. This will enable each agency to systematically and carefully assess its programs and actions in terms of women's concerns. Furthermore, recommendations included in this report are not exhaustive, but rather are used as examples of specific types of possible Federal actions.

It is understood that the Federal government cannot solve all the problems caused by the unequal treatment of women. Rather, the solutions must come from changes in all institutions within society. For this reason, there are included a number of suggestions and recommendations for actions to be taken on the local and state government level as well as within the private sector. In these instances, the Federal role is one of encouragement and moral leadership.

Checklist for Federal Departments and Agencies

The Federal government departments and agencies should be required as part of their ongoing responsibilities to systemically and routinely consider the effect of their actions on women. An agency's responsiveness to women's needs cannot be measured solely by special women's events; instead review must be given to the overall incorporation of women's needs into policies and programs. This checklist provides some suggestions for institutionalizing this process. Although this list is targeted to Federal departments and agencies, the points raised are certainly applicable to other institutions.

Appoint Women to Policy-Making Positions

1. Include affirmative action for women and minorities as part of the evaluation criteria for all supervisory positions. This will encourage the hiring of women for mid-level positions where they can become available for future promotion and where they can be utilizied on an ad hoc basis for representing an office at policy-making meetings where otherwise no women would be participating.

2. Insure that women are represented proportionate to their numbers in the population, or at least, to their number in the particular profession or group affected, on all policy-making boards or advisory committees of any agency. For example, women are underrepresented on Health Systems Agency boards which make decisions that affect women and their children.

3. Require that women be represented on all panels which merit staff positions, select contractors, award scholarships, research grants and/or professional awards.

Review Boards

1. On August 26, 1977, President Carter issued a memorandum to the heads of all Executive Branch departments and agencies calling upon them to review all statutes, regulations, programs and policies which result in the unequal treatment of persons on the basis of sex. The Task Force on Sex Discrimination, Department of Justice, was created to coordinate the review. Sixty-four department and

agencies participated in this extensive and methodical self-examination. Hundreds of regulations, policies and practices as well as some statutes have been identified as discriminatory and, as a result, the Task Force staff has accomplished modifications or deletions to a substantial number of them. Further, the Task Force has urged all agencies to institutionalize an ongoing process to insure a continuing review of policies and issuances to guard against sex discrimination. Many of the agencies have established such a system.

1 Agencies which have not completed such corrective action are urged to do so and the President should request all agencies to institutionalize a system and should require annual reports on effects and progress.

2. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and each individ ual department and agency should be required to examine budget allocations for programs and activities related to women and affirmative action. It is important that budget priorities reflect the strong commitment to advancing the status of women in the United States.

3. When allocating funds for research and demonstration projects, special attention must be paid to the needs of women, the effect of the research or demonstration project on women and the role women will play in the project.

4. Each Federal department and agency should incorporate into its annual program review a separate women's component, which would not only examine women's role in the agency, but also the impact of programs on women. Such information should be transmitted to the President.

Data

1. The Federal government should undertake efforts to increase the collection and dissemination of data relating to women. Although much progress has been achieved in this area, there are still many indicators and that are not cross-referenced on the basis of sex.

Enforcement of Legal Rights

1. Each department and agency with jurisdiction to enforce particular legal guarantees against sex discrimination must be given adequate staff and resources to do so. In addition, a more concerted effort must be made to insure that citizens are aware of their rights and various enforcement mechanisms.

Constitutency Input

1. Federal departments and agencies must be actively encouraged to solicit from non-governmental organizations and interested individuals, views, ideas, opinions and assessments of programs and policies which address the problems of sex discrimination. These efforts towards increased communication should include formal hearings, and, perhaps more important, informal discussions and working group sessions. They should be held routinely throughout the United States to afford persons who cannot travel to Washington, D. C. an opportunity to participate. The Department of Labor's Women's Bureau Constitutency Meetings are a very good example of this type of activity.

National Machineries

1. Adequate money, staff and resources should be made available in each department and agency to productively use existing mechanisms for reviewing women's programs, developing better policies for eliminating sex discrimination and increasing the input of women's organizations.

The Issues

A cross-section of issues are presented below for examination of the problems, what is being done about them, and what can be done. The issues are, as mentioned earlier, not the only issues women are concerned with, nor are they the only areas which can or should be targeted for government action. However, they are issues which generated much discussion at all the regional conferences and each emerged as important at the Copenhagen Conference.

Furthermore, as will be seen, the issues are interrelated; changing the situation of one, alters the status of another. Most of the issues center around economic security, or lack of it, afforded women. Finally, the issues are not new, nor are the proposed solutions. In many cases, what is really needed is immediate Federal action to implement long-standing recommendations.

EMPLOYMENT:

Employment issues and/or economic security issues are of tantamount importance to American women and women throughout the world. The growing dependence placed on women's abilities to earn an income to support their families was clearly shown at both the U.S. national outrach conferences and at the World Conference. Women have traditionally made up the unskilled, low paid labor force and the unpaid work force in the home. The attention paid employment issues generally shows that this trend is changing as women change their work patterns and life-styles.

Dual Role/Dual Burden

Women work in the home caring for the family and the maintaining the household, and many women have responsibilities outside the home. This situation is referred to as the dual role, and places a dual burden on many women. It was identified as an important problem in workshops dealing with education, health and employment at the regional conference.

For employment, it means that women who are employed outside their homes have two jobs: their paid employment and the unpaid job as homemaker and mother. For education, it means that women too frequently drop out of school for child-rearing responsibilities and, when it is possible to return and resume education, the educational systems are geared to young, full-time students without home responsibilities. For health it means the mental stress caused by juggling home and outside responsibilities.

In the United States there has been some progress in dealing with this situation, but it is primarily progress of recognition. The increasing recognition of the dual role and dual burden is bringing about a better understanding of the need for more accessible childcare facilities and increased utilization of part-time and flex-time working hour schedules. But, there has been no serious discussion of changing attitudes towards family roles and responsibilities, and so any remedy is still very remote.

Federal Action Recommended

1. The government must take action to increase the number of quality child care opportunities including requiring the General Services Administration to provide such facilities in every newly constructed or newly-leased facility. Further, the government should attempt to increase tax deductions and credit relating to childcare for both the user and the provider.

2. The government must continue to provide some leadership in creating opportunities for part-time employment and flexible hours. All efforts must be strengthened and analysis of their benefits should be provided to private employers; a tax incentive for employers should be examined. In considering any changes in hours, however, all agencies should be required to carefully assess the effect on parents.

3. The Department of Education should examine and make recommendations to correct the admissions and access problems cause by lack of scholarships for part-time students, lack of child care facilities on campuses, and inflexible curriculum sequences.

4. Research on stress related problems caused by the dual role is needed as well as demonstration programs on potential corrective measures and dissemination of ideas for lessening it.

5. Discrimination against children in housing must be legally abolished. In certain cities, over 70 percent of the moderate-income rental housing will not accept children. This forces families to live in homes which may not meet their needs, may be too expensive, and may be located inconveniently in terms of journey to work and child care facilities. At a minimum, the Federal government should take a leadership role in determining the extent of the problem, causes and possible solutions including legislation.

6. The government must take a leadership role in brining about a change in attitude towards traditional home responsibilities to increase sharing of these duties and responsibilities between both spouses. This can be accomplished by expanding job-sharing programs and encouraging men and women to participate in part-time and flex-time programs.

. Corrolary Issues

In addition to child care, two corrolary issues emerge in discussions of the dual role/dual burden. They are: special needs of female headed-households and unpaid work in the household. The problems facing female heads of household are more severe than those facing dual headed households, and must be dealt with accordingly. Furthermore, because work done in the home is not recognized in any way by our society as worthwhile, i.e., unpaid, it is extremely difficult for women to be recognized as contributing, productive citizens. Monetary worth is the primary measurement of value by our society. It is essential that government examine and implement a method of counting this currently unpaid labor at the same standard used for assessing value in other sectors of society.

. Enforcement of Inter-Spousal (Alimony) and Child Support

Women lack the money to support their children. Because women have a lower earnings capacity than men, 59 cents to every dollar men earn, it is important that spousal contributions be made regularly to the household. In 1975 only 4% of 4.5 million divorced women received alimony and only 25% of all women with dependent children actually received court ordered child support payments. The mean amount received annually was $2,430.00. The poverty rate for those women who received child support payments was 12% compared to 32% for those who did not.

Ineffective and costly legal procedures have in the past made collection of child support difficult or impossible. The transient nature of our population makes the location of delinquent parents difficult.

The problem is compounded since inter-spousal and child support is generally awarded by state courts; collections of delinquencies must be processed through those courts. It is difficult to obtain jurisdiction over the delinquent parent and even more difficult to enforce a judgement.

There is no national or even state system which provides for an earnings lien or paycheck allocation for inter-spousal or child support. Further, there are no current systems that automatically require an earnings lien even after frequent delinquency or substantial arrears. As the statistics reflect, many women are pushed into poverty by the non-payment of child support.

Two recent pieces of legislation, P.L. 96-265 and P.L. 96-272, offer some additional commitments by Congress and the President to improve enforcement of support. P.L. 96-272 authorizes the IRS to collect support payments in arrears for non-Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) families. Previously this system was only available for AFDC families. P.L. 96-265 makes available additional resources, up to 90% Federal matching funds, for states to develop, implement and improve child support management systems. More states are taking a hard look at this issue and trying to solve it. However, in some cases, particularly those receiving AFDC, government intervention is seen as more harmful than helpful, as it may bring violent retaliation against the woman and her children.

Federal Action Recommended

1. A system of federal incentives is needed to encourage states to provide for an automatic earnings lien after an arrearage occurs or there are frequent late payments.

2. Publicity campaigns must be launched explaining the options for enforcement of inter-spousal and child support decrees. Women must be encouraged to take advantage of these programs without fear of retaliation or coersion.

. Corollary Issues

Once again child care is important here, because it can be the single biggest determinant of a woman's earning potential in the paid labor force, thus giving her the needed income to support her family. In addition, the issue of domestic and family violence becomes crucial when support payments are not collected because a woman fears for her life and the well-being of her family. Domestic relations law is a matter of state jurisdiction. However, certain standards can be adopted by the Federal government as model laws, and programs can be implemented that incorporate these principles.

. Equal Pay for Work of Comparable Value and Occupational Segregation

Women comprise 41% of the paid labor force. They are: 98% of all secretaries; 94% of all typists; and, 95% of all household workers. Less than 10% of all skilled workers are women and less than 5% of all managers are women. Women earn 59 cents for every dollar men earn. Women are segregated into lower paying occupations characterized as "traditionally female".

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination in employment, including salary differentials, on the basis of sex. The 1963 Equal Pay Act specifically prohibits paying different salaries to men and women who perform jobs of equal skill, responsibility and effort under similar working conditions. However, the law, although it does not preclude equal pay for work of comparable value, does not specifically mandate it. The crux of the problem for women is occupational segregation. As long as women are vying against each other for paid employment, no significant change will be seen in pay differentials. What is needed is an examination of jobs of various classifications to see what types of skills, responsibilities and effort they require. Only when this type of cross-referencing is accomplished will there ever be any change in the situation.

The statistics prove there has been little or no progress in remedying this problem.

Federal Action Recommended

1. The President should propose legislation by amendment to Title VII and/or the 1963 Equal Pay Act to provide specifically for equal pay for work of comparable value.

2. The President should continue to support and expand Department of Labor programs designed to reduce occupational segregation.

3. All agencies should adopt and enforce regulations requiring contractors to take affirmative action with goals and timetables to employ women in non-traditional jobs.

. Economic Security for Older Women

Women constitute the overwhelming majority of the elderly poor, having incomes so restricted that their quality of life is greatly reduced. This situation is largely a result of retirement systems which do not provide women with adequate incomes. Women live longer than men, but earn less than men. In the past, women tended to have fewer years of earnings in the paid labor force and that accompanied by their lower earnings put them at the bottom of any retirement or social security payment scales.

Many of the blatantly discriminatory provisions of the Social Security law have been solved through legislation and litigation. However, the central problem still exists and various proposals have been suggested to solve it. Primarily, the issue concerns women being penalized for remaining at home caring for the family and losing important earnings quarters which, when counted and computed, will affect eligibility or change the amount of the Social Security payment when claimed. In order to remedy this, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare--now the Department of Health and Human Services--issued a report entitled "Social Security and the Changing Roles of Men and Women." This report sets forth the three options facing policy makers concerning Social Security Reform: (1) implementing earnings sharings, (2) minimum benefit, and (3) homemaker credit.

The Social Security system was never intended to be the sole source of retirement income. The benefit levels it provides are generally sufficient to raise retired people above the official poverty level, but do not approach full replacement of pre-retirement income. The gap between Social Security and adequate replacement rates is intended to be filled primarily by the private pension system.

The private pension system is regulated by the Federal government under the Employees Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA). Private pensions are an important part of the American retirement income system, but many aspects of the rules they use in allocating benefits produce results that may be considered inequitable. Women, in particular, are adversely affected by private pension plan requirements.

The major problems that affect women concern deferred vesting, backloading and the lack of portability. The systems favor long-term workers over short-term workers; and, once again because most plans are based on a proportion of earned income and women earn so much less than men, women tend to collect smaller amounts.

Federal Action Recommended

1. The President should recommend to Congress a plan to make the Social Security system and private pensions plans compatible with women's work habits. Both should take into account shared responsibilities within the home and deal with labor force mobility. There has been extensive research done on the various problems and substantive recommendations have been made. It is time for specific action to be asked of Congress.

EDUCATION:

The major education issue internationally is literacy. More than two-thirds of the world's women and girls are illiterate, in some countries this figure goes as high as 90%. In the United States illiteracy is not considered as pressing a problem. Our country has compulsory education for both girls and boys and although there is increasing concern about high-school graduates not being functionally literate, the problem is considered one of teaching and not access. Furthermore, education is traditionally within the domain of local government so the Federal role is somewhat limited.

The recently established Department of Education does monitor educational trends and recommends certain programs. Additionally, the Department grants monies for special programs to overcome sex discrimination problems such as curricula revision and affirmative action.

The problems most discussed in the United States concerning women and education are: college and university admissions, faculty and administrative hiring, textbook curricula and revision, tracking, support services for mothers, vocational training, and enforcement of Title IX. For purposes of this report, two issues will be examined: sex stereotyping in educational curricula and materials, and Title IX enforcement.

. Sex Stereotyping in Educational Curricula and Materials

Establishing role models for girls begins at the primary school level and continues throughout education. Many textbooks and other educational materials portray girls and women in traditional roles as mothers and homemakers. It is important that sex stereotyping is removed from all educational materials and that girls and women are encouraged to enroll in various study programs including those still considered non-traditional.

Thus far, progress has been slow in redeveloping curricula and educational materials. However, the Federal government through the Commission on Civil Rights and the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) program has begun the arduous task of reviewing and changing school materials to remove sex bias. The Commission on Civil Rights initiated a project which reviewed many different materials used in education and recommended numerous changes to remove sex bias. The WEEA program, administered by the Department of Education, gives grants to organizations to help them revise school curricula and materials and is currently beginning Phase II, which grants monies to educational institutions to help them incorporate these changes. There are extremely good publications available through the WEEA office suggesting various ways to change teachers' attitudes and the educational materials.

Federal Action Recommended

1. Continue and increase support for the WEEA and other programs which are developing and promoting non-sexist materials.

2. Request each agency to require that all publications of the agency be systematically screened to insure that they are non-sexist in orientation. This includes both text and graphics.

3. Many agencies develop specific educational materials under contract. Require that a provision be included in all such contracts requiring a non-sexist presentation in text and graphics.

4. Provide incentives to local governments to incorporate changes into their curricula and education materials as well as promote teacher's sensitivity to the problem.

- **Title IX Enforcement**

Title IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was enacted to prohibit sex discrimination in educational institutions which receive federal funds. This includes discrimination in hiring practices, admissions and use of facilities and services. The law was passed when Congress realized that women were being discriminated against in educational institutions on the basis of sex.

The legal framework for enforcing the prohibition on sex discrimination in educational institutions is in place, however, as is the case with any enforcement mechanism, litigation is costly and lengthy. Further, proving sex discrimination is very difficult, since the standard of proof is vague; there are usually many justifications for an action other than solely sex discrimination. Particularly, in the case of hiring practices, it is very difficult to prove sex discrimination.

Federal Action Recommended

1. Continue support for staff and resources for enforcement of Title IX and other anti-discrimination laws.

2. The Department of Education provides only approximately one-half of the Federal support for education. Other Federal agencies are required to either enact regulations implementing the provisions of Title IX in their programs, or to endorse those of the Department of Education, yet many have not done so. Those which have not yet done so should be required to take such action immediately.

3. The Federal government should actively monitor all aspects of education for possible illegalities and publicize these practices. Where affirmative action plans are required, they should be submitted immediately and no extensions should be granted.

4. Strong enforcement measures should be followed by the government. Many times, even when practices of discrimination are found, the remedy, a cut off of Federal funds, is not utilized.

HEALTH:

Health issues as they relate to women are often the forgotten problems in sex discrimination discussions. Although there is a very strong, cohesive women's health movement in the U.S., during the national outreach program, health workshops had the lowest registration rates among all workshops offered. Perhaps this is due to the perceived tenuous relationship between health care and the more immediate economic security issues such as employment and social security. Furthermore, it is a proven fact that in time of economic hardship, women tend to neglect their own health in order to use that money to purchase other goods and services. Among the health care issues which do receive the most attention are reproductive health, breast cancer and maternal and child health--the health care issues unique to women. The Copenhagen Conference was seen as an important catalyst for improving the perception of women and health in the United States.

There are a myriad of problems related to women and health, most of which stem from the overwhelming domination by men of all health care related fields. They concern unnecessary surgery, over prescription of drugs, the continued lack of safe and sure contraception, occupational health hazards, inaccessible and/or unavailable health care, insufficient nutrition and the high cost of health care. In addition, the low percentage of women as health care professionals in policy making positions contributes to the overall insensitivity of our health care system to women's needs.

There has been some progress in specific areas of women's health. For instance, increased research is being done and publicized about the effects of certain substances on women's health, i.e., smoking, alcohol abuse, as well as the effect of certain prescription drugs. Specifically, the Copenhagen Conference did make an impact on the recognition of women's special health needs.

Federal Action Recommended

1. Since much of the progress needed involves changes in the attitudes and practices within the medical system, the Federal role must be one of supporting research, education and measures which will directly or indirectly bring about a greater sensitivity to women's health needs within the medical system.

2. Support ongoing research on health problems unique to women. Such support develops the expertise and peer respect necessary to make progress. An example is the work of the Breast Cancer Task Force of the National Institute of Cancer which was responsible for the research leading to early detection programs, anti-cancer drugs, and recognition of the validity of less radical surgical procedures.

3. Appointment women to high positions within the Federal health-related establishment including to peer panels reviewing research proposals.

4. Increase the number of neighborhood and rural health clincs to insure more accessible health care.

5. Continue educational efforts on all health related issues including: nutrition, preventive health care, pre- and post-natal care, and free or low cost government health care programs.

6. Develop or expand programs that use health care professionals other than physicians, such as nurse mid-wives, nurse practitioners and para-medics.

INTERNATIONAL AGENDA

Women throughout the United States have increasingly expressed interet in foreign policy matters, both those that are specifically related to women and those that are characterized in more general terms. Workshops were offered at each regional conference on international topics ranging from comparative analyis of health care to the effect of favorable tariffs on women's employment to Middle East issues.

Federal Action Recommended

1. The Federal government should take a leadership role in preventing adverse effects from actions overseas by United States' firms which: (1) sell products abroad that are not considered safe for consumption with the United States, and (2) operate overseas industries in a manner not allowed in the United States, particulary with respect to pollution and work standards.

2. The Department of State and other agencies concerned with international issues should actively seek the opinions and suggestions of women's organizations in all foreign policy matters.

3. The U.S. contribution to the UN Voluntary Fund for Women must be increased.

4. U.S. Women and Development activities should be expanded and integrated into all areas of development assistance.

ACTIONS OF OTHER INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS:

The purpose of defining problems and recommending solutions in this report is to provide policy makers and programs directors with suggestions for action. The Federal government alone cannot be held responsible for systematic discrimination practices, nor can it be called upon to single-handedly remedy them. Our society has many different organizational facets--Federal, state and local governments; private sector business; educational institutions; and foundations. Each must affirmatively take steps to insure that discrimination is abolished or else the Decade goals of Equality, Development and Peace will never be realized.

. State and Local Government

The various organizational units of state and local governments can undertake the same type of systematic review of their activities as was outlined for Federal agencies. Many Federal programs are administered through state departments and agencies. States appoint persons to various professional licensing and review boards crucial to changing attitudes in the medical and educational systems. State Boards of Education influence textbook selection.

States contract for construction projects and other services worth billions of dollars. Those contracts can be awarded and monitored to further affirmative action in reducing occupational segregation. States control the vocational educational funds and programs which are crucial in providing opportunities and encouragement for girls to enter non-traditional occupations.

Local governments control land use, which determines whether housing, public transportation and facilities such as child care will be conveniently located. Local Boards of Education have the major responsibility for enforcement of Title IX.

- Universities and Schools

These organizations are responsible for implementing all aspects of Title IX and for utilizing non-sexist curricula. They also are responsible for broadening women's occupational choices through design of courses and career counseling. They have a major opportunity for providing preventive health education on such matters as drug and alcohol abuse, sexually transmitted disease, mental illness, unwanted pregnancies, smoking and general preventive health care.

In addition, universities fund and conduct much of the research relating to social, economic and political attitudes. They should be sure that all research projects assess the effect of the particular situation on women and/or that all data related research breaks out information by sex.

- Private Sector Business

The Federal government takes a leadership role, mainly through tax incentives, to encourage the private sector to incorporate non-discriminatory practices into their operations; this is in addition to enforcing anti-discrimination laws. Unfortunately, monetary incentives are necessary to bring about change, because success or failure within private business is measured first, and usually solely, by productivity and profits and not by social responsibility.

Of course, not all private sector enterprises conduct their business without regard to social responsibility; some in fact have exemplary records of affirmative action and community service. But, because of the enormous influence the private sector has on society and because government's role is limited, the private sector must increase its efforts to abolish discrimination; these efforts should be commensurate with their influence on society.

Specifically the private sector must:

(1) continue and increase affirmative action programs in both hiring and promotion;

(2) publicize through various industry-wide campaigns the results of these programs;

(3) examine the impact on women of all development and expansion plans; and

(4) encourage non-discrimination attitudes among employees and management.

- **Foundations**

Foundations provide a large source of revenue to organizations and individuals. While the areas addressed by foundations differ drastically--institutional donations to zoos, hospitals and theaters, to special research projects on human rights--they do support many important societal needs. In the specific context of the Program of Action, foundations can play a significant leadership role, because they can fund the programs and research called for in that document.

All foundations should review their current programs and priorities to assess how these programs and priorities respond to the actions called for in the Program. Foundations should then undertake the responsibility of funding projects which, in their estimation, will advance not only the goals of the Decade but also the actual work required to make those goals a global reality.

Note: The U.S. negative vote on the Program of Action relates to three specific paragraphs in that document: #2, #5 and #244. All other paragraphs have the agreement of the U.S. Government, and the recommendations in the rest of the Program are in accordance with U.S. Government policy. While foundations are independent and may fund whatever they wish, it is within the purview of the U.S. Government to encourage fundings of those projects which is supports.

- **Media**

The media is a hybrid of the private sector and government. Most communications businesses are privately owned, but licensed by the Federal Communications Commission and/or other government bodies. All means of public communication are guaranteed certain rights under our Constitution; nevertheless, a "free press" does not mean an irresponsible press.

At all levels of media, electronic and print, advertising, entertainment and news, the communications industry must be responsible in portraying women and minorities positively without resorting to invidious stereotypes or demeaning characterizations. Furthermore, the media must responsibly cover news items and not just media events. The overwhelming influence of the media on attitudes cannot be understated; and to ignore and, at times, to allow it to perpetuate discriminatory biases is both unconscionable and irresponsible.

B. DELEGATE SELECTION PROCESS:

Delegates were selected by the Department of State in consultation with the Executive Office of the White House from among individuals who met the criteria as developed by the U.S. Secretariat. There were no restrictions on what was to be included among the criteria, other than that a proposed candidate must be a U.S. citizen, have some expertise in one or more items to be discussed, and ultimately pass the security clearance.

The U.S. Secretariat actively solicited additional criteria from interested individuals and developed the list which follows below. Concurrently, a letter was sent to over 8,000 persons inviting individuals and organizations to make nominations in writing for evaluation by the selecting officials. The U.S. Secretariat received over 500 letters of nomination of individuals for consideration as possible U.S. delegates to the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, 1980. Resumes were carefully studied and evaluated. The initial screening within the Secretariat produced a list of approximately 90 names, from which the final selection was made by officials of the Department of State and the White House.

The goals and objectives of the U.S. Secretariat in selecting the delegation were embodied in the following criteria:

(1) Members of the delegation should be capable of participating in substantive discussion of the agenda items and issues before the Conference;

(2) The delegation as a whole should be representative of the diversity of American women;

(3) The delegates themselves should have a position or constituency through which they could carry the decisions and results of the conference deliberations to those who were not able to attend, and also through which they could help bring about implementation of the Program of Action and the resolutions;

(4) Persons selected for the delegation should be able and willing to participate for the duration of the Conference; and,

(5) At least some of the delegates should have some prior experience with United Nations activities or other international meetings.

In the initial screening process, the evaluators looked first for expertise in one or more areas directly related to the subject matter of agenda items to be discussed during the World Conference. In particular, experience in one of the subtheme areas (health, education and employment) or in one of the international aspects (international economics, women in development, the Middle East, southern Africa, refugees) was considered critical to establishing that an individual would be able to contribute substantively to the work of the delegation during the deliberations in Copenhagen.

Concurrently with consideration of the subject matter competencies of the nominees, the evaluators noted the particular constituency which the person represented and what perspective and viewpoint the person might bring to the deliberations. Attention was paid to whether the person worked for the Federal government or might serve as a spokesperson for state or local government, whether the individual possessed the perspective of a small business owner or the leadership of a major labor union. To ensure that the delegation would be truly representative of the plurality and diversity of American women, the evaluators looked at the racial and ethnic backgrounds, the economic and educational levels, the places of residence and employment (geographical region as well as whether urban or rural).

As stated above, the third major area of concern in the delegation selection process was how the decisions of Copenhagen would be implemented in the United States. For this reason, an effort was made to select persons in policy making positions in the Federal government. Also, delegates were chosen from among the leadership of major national women's non-governmental organizations, persons who would be sure to enlist the aid of their memberships to bring necessary pressure on all sectors of business and government to achieve the goals of the Conference.

The delegation which emerged from the selection process performed as a cohesive unit, spoke knowledgably on the issues, and was truly a credit to the United States during the Conference.

See Section V of this report for Delegate/Advisor/ Staff List and Delegate assignments. Tab 4 contains biographical information on the U.S. delegation.

C. POSITION PAPERS AND CONTINGENCY PAPERS:

In addition to the Scope Paper prepared for U.S. delegation use, see Tab 5, the following issues were addressed in specific position papers or contingency papers. Many were prepared within the Department of State; however, on particular issues within the expertise of other agencies and departments, those offices prepared the papers. We wish to gratefully acknowledge their contribution: the Department of Education, the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Labor.

Issues Addressed in Position Papers and Contingency Papers

1. Palestinian Women's Item
2. Mideast: U.S. Attitude Towards the PLO
3. Mideast: Autonomy Negotiations
4. Mideast: Israeli Settlements
5. Jerusalem
6. Women and Apartheid
7. Namibia
8. The Institute for Namibia
9. Trust Fund for South Africa
10. UN Educational and Training Programs for Southern Africa (UNETPSA)
11. Women Refugees
12. Afghanistan

13. Cuba
14. Cyprus
15. Iran
16. Micronesia
17. New World Information Order (NWIO)
18. North/South Economic Issues: Eleventh Special Session of the UNGA: International Development Strategy; Global Negotiations
19. Puerto Rico
20. Western Sahara
21. Kampuchean Credentials
22. Draft Programme of Action for the Second Half of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development of Peace, 1981-1985, designed to implement the World Plan of Action
23. Follow-up by Thirty-Third World Health Assembly on Infant and Yound Child Feeding
24. Female Circumcision/Gential Mutilation
25. Reproductive Health
26. Corporate Dumping of Contraceptives Issue
27. Sexually Transmitted Diseases: Their Health Burden on Women
28. Wife Abuse
29. Smoking and Alcohol Abuse by Women
30. Abuse of Legal and Illegal Psychoactive Drugs
31. The American Family: A Continuing Cornerstone
32. UN Water and Sanitation Decade 1980-1990
33. Overcoming Job Segregation
34. American Women in the Labor Force

35. American Women as Part-Time and Part-Year Workers

36. Review and Evaluation of Progress Achieved in the Implementation of the World Plan of Action: Employment

37. Equal Opportunity and Treatment of Women in Employment

38. Value of Women's Work in the Home

39. Combining Paid Employment with Responsibilities in the Home

40. Women's Full Participation in the Nation's Political Process

41. Pay Equity: Overcoming Wage Discrimination

42. The Transition from Special Protection for Women to Emphasis on Equal Opportunity and Improved Working Conditions for Men and Women

43. Recommendations Relating to Women and Development Emerging from Conferences held under the Auspices of the UN or the Specialized Agencies

44. Non-Governmental Organizations

45. Influence of the Mass Communications Media on Attitudes Towards the Roles of Women and Men in Present Day Society

46. Alternate Declaration on the Participation of Women in the Strengthening of International Peace and Security

47. Voluntary Fund for the UN Decade for Women

48. Review and Evaluation of National Machinery in the United States

49. Participation of Women in Political Activity

50. An End-of-the-Decade World Conference for Women, and the naming of 1986-1995 as a Second Decade for Women

PUBLICATIONS

Summary of Conference on the Older Woman: Continuities and Discontinuities, September 14-16, 1978

The Earnings Gap Between Women and Men

Facts About Women Heads of Households and Heads of Families

V. DELEGATES/ADVISORS/STAFF

The following lists the U.S. delegation, advisors and support staff, for both Copenhagen and Washington. Also, a list of the various assignments is included. For more specific biographical information on the delegates, see Tab 4.

DELEGATES/ADVISORY/STAFF

I. DELEGATION IN COPENHAGEN

Co-Heads of Delegation

Donald F. McHenry
Sarah Weddington

Representatives

Vivian Lowery Derryck
Arvonne Fraser
Alexis Herman
Koryne Horbal
Sarah Power

Special Ambassadorial Advisor

Warren D. Manshel

Congressional Adv[illegible]

Barbara Mikulski
Mary Rose Oakar

Congressional Staff Advisors

Maura Corrigan
Margaret E. Galey
Margaret Goodman
Anne Lewis
Janean Mann

Delegate Advisors

Virginia Allan
Ingrid Fabbe Bauer
Mary Bitterman
Barbara Blum
David Cardwell
Elizabeth Carpenter
Judy Carter
Nicholas W. Danforth

I. DELEGATION IN COPENHAGEN

Delegate Advisors (Cont)

Susan Kunitomi Embrey
Sister Isolina Ferre
Eunice Fiorito
Barbara Good
Mary A. Grefe
Dorothy Height
Barbara Herz
Ruth J. Hinerfeld
Perdita Huston
Mary King
Odessa Komer
Esther R. Landa
Mary W. E. Natani
Bea Peterson
J. Dan Phillips
Vel Phillips
Maureen Rafferty
Blandina Cardenas Ramirez
Lynda Johnson Robb
Roma Stewart
Anne B. Turpeau

Advisors to the U.S. Delegation

Kathryn Cade
Margaret Carpenter
Marjorie Bell Chanbers
Vern Goff
Abigail Havens
Carolee Heileman
Alberta Henderson
Arthur Hughes
John Kriendler
Lillian Levy
Patricia M. McDonnell
Clyde Nora
Deirdre Ryan
Jill Schuker
Sana Shtasel
Elizabeth Sullivan
Csanad Toth
Mae M. Walterhouse
Maureen Whalen

I. DELEGATION IN COPENHAGEN

Support Staff

Tom Pettit
Millie Carter
Christine Gantt
Mary Burt
Bette Lowengrube

II. DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN WASHINGTON

U.S. Secretariat

Judith Rooks
Marie Burba
Margaret Nannes
Thomas Prince
Peggy Wireman
Dorothy Hawkins
Patricia Kennedy
Joan Schilcher

Bureau of International Organizations Affairs

Richard McCall
Peter Bridges
Philip Kaplan
John Kimball
Melvyn Levitsky
John McDonald
Michael Newlin
Michael Peay
Laurence Pope

Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asia Affairs

John Hirsch

III. AMERICAN EMBASSY IN COPENHAGEN

Vanessa Brooks
Marion Gribble
Jean Louis
Major Don Mosely
Michael Polt
Charles Skellenger
Hazel Sommer
Lilli Zilstorff

IV. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AGENCY (COPENHAGEN AND WASHINGTON)

David Arnett
Csaba Chikes
Hanne Ferguson
Betsy Fitzgerald
Ingebjorg Fuglested
Jorgen Stahnke Hansen
Marianne Jessen
John Ludin
Li Lundin
Grethe Madsen
Rudi Mendiola
Ole Olivarious
Charlotte Spangenberg
Liv Tvermoes

V. ASSIGNMENTS

Plenary

Sarah Weddington, Chair
Donald F. McHenry, Chair
Warren D. Manshel
Sarah Power
Susan K. Embrey
Sister Isolina Ferre
Ruth Hinerfeld
Vel Phillips

Political Advisors - Rotating Assignments

David Cardwell
Arthur Hughes
John Kriendler
J. Dan Phillips
Csanad Toth

Committee of the Whole

Vivian L. Derryck, Chair
Maureen Whalen

V. ASSIGNMENTS (Cont)

First Committee

Alexis Herman, Co-Chair
Koryne Horbal, Co-Chair
Marjorie B. Chambers, Coordinator
Ingrid F. Bauer
Vern Goff
Mary W. F. Natani

Health

Eunice Fiorito
Maureen Rafferty

Education

Mary A. Grefe
Blandina C. Ramierz

Employment

Odessa Komer
Roma Stewart

Apartheid

Dorothy Height

Palestinian Women

Esther Landa
Sana Shtasel

National Machineries

Lynda J. Robb

Second Committee

Vivian L. Derryck, Co-Chair
Arvonne Fraser, Co-Chair
Margaret Goodman, Coordinator
Judy Carter
Margaret Galey
Carolee Heileman
Patricia M. McDonnell

V. ASSIGNMENTS (Cont)

Health

Barbara Herz
Perdita Huston

Employment

Nicholas Danforth
Bea Peterson

Refugees

Katheryn Cade
Margaret Carpenter
Mary King
Janean Mann

Palestinian Women

Esther Landa
Sana Shtasel

Apartheid

Anne Turpeau

International Machineries/Specialized Agencies

Barbara Good

Resolutions

Arvonne Fraser
Koryne Horbal
Margaret Galey
Ruth Hinerfeld

NGO Liaison

Virginia Allan, Co-Chair
Barbara Blum, Co-Chair
Elizabeth Sullivan
Anne Turpeau
Mae Walterhouse

V. ASSIGNMENTS (Cont)

Press

Elizabeth Carpenter, Chair
Mary Bitterman
Lillian Levy
Deirdre Ryan

Logistics

Abigail Havens
Alberta Henderson
Maureen Whalen

VI. THE COPENHAGEN CONFERENCE

The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, was held at Copenhagen from July 14 through 30, 1980, in conformity with General Assembly Resolution 33/191 adopted on January 29, 1979. There were 21 plenary meetings during the Conference.

A. Conference Agenda

At its first meeting on July 14, 1980, the Conference adopted the provisional agenda recommended to it by the Preparatory Committee, namely:

1. Opening of the Conference
2. Election of the President
3. Adoption of the rules of procedure
4. Adoption of the agenda
5. Election of officers other than the President
6. Other organizational matters
    (a) Allocation of items to the main Committees and organizations of work
    (b) Credentials of representatives of the Conference
        (i) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee
        (ii) Report of the Credentials Committee
7. Effects of apartheid on women in southern Africa
    (a) Review of the situation
    (b) Special measures for assistance to women in southern Africa
8. Review and evaluation of the progress made and obstacles encountered in attaining the objectives of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, at the national, regional

and international levels from 1975 to 1980, in keeping with the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of objectives of the International Women's Year

(a) Review and evaluation of progress made and obstacles encountered at the national level in attaining the minimum objectives set forth in paragraph 46 of the World Plan of Action

(b) Review and evaluation of regional and global programs of the United Nations System of organizations aimed at promoting the objectives of the Decade

9. Program of Action for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality Development and Peace, 1981-1985, designed to implement the World Plan of Action

(a) National targets and strategies for women's integration and participation in economic and social development, with special emphasis on the subtheme "Employment, Health and Education"

(i) Planning and monitoring

(ii) National machineries

(b) Regional and international targets and strategies, taking into account the subtheme "Employment, Health and Education"

(c) The situation of women refugees the world over

10. Effects of Israeli occupation on Palestinian women inside and outside the occupied territories

(a) A review of the social and economic needs of the Palestinian women

(b) Special measures for assistance to Palestinian women inside and outside the occupied territories

11. Adoption of the report of the Conference

B. Conference Documentation

Extensive documentation was made available to participants by the UN Secretariat prior to and during the Conference. For a list of the document titles and reference symbols see Tab 6.

C. Organization of Work

Pre-Conference consultations open to all states invited to participate in the Conference were held at Copenhagen on July 13, 1980, to consider procedural and organizational matters. These and other informal consultations were chaired by Ms. Maimouna Kane (Senegal), Chair of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference.

The Conference decided to establish two main committees: The First Committee, or Committee I, with a mandate to focus on matters at the national level; and the Second Committee, or Committee II, at the regional and global levels. Accordingly, at its first plenary meeting, the Conference decided to allocate deliberation of agenda items as follows:

(1) Items 1 through 6 and 11 would be considered in plenary meetings:

(2) Items 7(a), 8(a), 9(a) and 10(a) would be considered by the First Committee; and

(3) Items 7(b), 8(b), 9(b), 9(c) and 10(b) would be considered by the Second Committee. In addition, at the same meeting the Conference decided to establish a Committee of the Whole whose terms of reference would be to consider Part One (Historical Background and Conceptual Framework) of the draft Program of Action and to report to the plenary.

D. Conference Participants

The following 145 states were represented at the Conference:

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Angola
Argentina
Australia
Austria

Bahrain
Bangladesh
Barbados
Belgium
Benin
Bhutan
Bolivia
Botswana
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burundi
Byelorussian Soviet
  Socialist Rep.
Canada
Cape Verde
Central African Republic
Chile
China
Colombia
Comoros
Congo
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Democratic Kampuchea
Democratic People's Republic
  of Korea
Democratic Yemen
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
Ethiopia
Fiji
Finland
France
Gabon
Gambia
German Democratic Republic
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Grenada
Guatemala
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau

Guyana
Haiti
Holy See
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Kuwait
Lao People's Democratic Rep.
Lebanon
Lesotho
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
Luxembourg
Madagascar
Malawi
Malaysia
Maldives
Mali
Mauritania
Mauritius
Mexico
Monoglia
Morocco
Mozambique
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Oman
Pakistan
Panama
Papua New Guinea
Paraguay
Peru

Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Qatar
Republic of Korea
Romania
Rwanda
Samoa
Saint Lucia
San Marino
Sao Tome and Principe
Senegal
Seychelles
Singapore
Somalia
Spain
Sri Lanka
Sudan
Suriname
Swaziland
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom of Great Britian
  and Northern Ireland
United Republic of Cameroon
United Republic of Tanzania
United States of America
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Vietnam
Yemen
Yugoslavia
Zaire
Zambia
Zimbabwe

The United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee on Apartheid were represented at the Conference.

The following organizations and national liberation movements attended the Conference in the capacity of observers:

Palestine Liberation Organization, South West Africa People's Organization, Africa National Congress (South Africa), Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

Members of the secretariat of the following United Nations offices were present throughout or during part of the Conference:

Office of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-Operation
Department of International Economic and Social Affairs
Department of Technical Co-Operation for Development
Department of Political and Security Affairs

The secretariats of the following regional commissions were represented at the Conference:

Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)
Economic Commission for Latin American (ECLA)
Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)
Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)
Economic Commission for Western Asia (ECWA)

The following United Nations bodies and programs were also represented:

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat)
United Nations Children's Fund
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
United Nations Development Programme
United Nations Fund for Population Activities
United Nations Industrial Development Organization
International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
United Nations Institute for Training and Research
United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office
United Nations University
World Food Programme
Federation of International Civil Servants Associations

Representatives of the following specialized agencies and related organizations participated in the work of the Conference:

International Labour Organization
Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
World Health Organization
World Bank

The following intergovernmental organizations were represented by observers:

Caribbean Community Secretariat
Commonwealth Secretariat
Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
Council of Europe
European Economic Community
International Center for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries
League of Arab States
Nordic Council
Organization of African Unity
Organization of American States (Inter-American Commission of Women)

A large number of non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, or on the Roster, attended the Conference. The list of participants is given in document A/CONF 94/INF. 3 and Add 1 in the Addendum.

E. Conference Officers

The Conference elected by acclamation Ms. Lise Ostergaard, Minister for Cultural Affairs of Denmark and head of the delegation of Denmark, as President of the Conference.

At its second plenary meeting on July 15, 1980, the Conference elected Ms. Helga Horz (German Democratic Republic) Vice-President in charge of co-ordination and the following 23 states as Vice Presidents: Australia, Austria, Barbados, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, France, Ghana, Iraq, Kenya, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Venezuela, Zimbabwe.

Ms. Anasixta Gonzales de Cuadros (Colombia) was elected Rapporteur-General.

The Conference elected Ms. Maimouna Kane (Senegal) Presiding Officer of the First Committee and Ms. Shiela Kaul (India) Presiding Officer of the Second Committee.

The First and Second Committees elected their Deputy Presiding Officers and Rapporteurs:

First Committee

Deputy Presiding Officers:	Ms. Rafidah Aziz (Malaysia) Ms. Leonidas Paez de Virgili (Paraguay) Ms. Maria Groza (Romania)
Rapporteur:	Ms. M. Van Hemeldonck (Belgium)

Second Committee

Deputy Presiding Officers:	Ms. Maria de Lourdes C.E.S. de Vincenzi (Brazil) Ms. Chavdar Kiuranov (Bulgaria) Ms. Nermin Abadan-Urat (Turkey)
Rapporteur:	Mr. Ali Benbouchta (Morocco)

The Committee of the Whole elected as its Presiding Officer Ambassador Ifigenia Martinez (Mexico). It elected Mr. Umayya Tukan (Jordan) as its Deputy Presiding Officer and Ms. Inonga Lewanika (Zambia) as its Rapporteur.

VII. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

The Committee of the Whole (COW) was established by consensus at the second plenary meeting, July 15, 1980, on the recommendation of the pre-conference consultations. The original initiative for establishing this committee came from India, as Chair of the G-77. The COW's mandate was to examine the first 37 paragraphs of the Draft Program of Action, (A/CONF. 94/22), entitled Introduction, Historical Perspective and Conceptual Framework. This is Section One of the Program and deals with the issues of the roots of women's oppression, lessons learned during the first five years of the Decade and the interrelationships between women's economic situation and the purposes of the Third UN Development Decade.

At the first meeting of the COW, the following officers were elected by acclammation:

Presiding Officer:	Ms. Ifigenia Martinez (Mexico)
Deputy Presiding Officer:	Mr. Umayya Tukan (Jordan)
Rapporteur:	Ms. Inonge Lewanika (Zambia)

It also was decided at the first meeting that the matters would be discussed in an open-ended informal working group. Eight meetings were held in the informal consultation format under the coordination of the Deputy Presiding Officer. A report of these consultations was submitted to the formal committee at its second meeting, July 25, 1980.

At the third and fourth formal meetings of the COW, the delegates agreed on all of the paragraphs in the relevent sections, with the exception of paragraphs #2 and #5, and recommended that the plenary do similarly.

The informal consultations were held in English. Nations that participated with regularity were: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Cuba, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), France, German Democratic Republic (GDR), India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Senegal, Sweden, Switzerland, USSR, United Kingdom (UK), USA, and Yugoslavia. Many African nations did not maintain constant participation and this caused many problems throughout, since it was difficult to obtain consensus without adequate representation from the African group. Lesotho, Zambia and Kenya did occassionally send representatives.

Many amendments were tabled for consideration by the COW, some written, others oral. A significant number were tabled by India on behalf of the G-77; in large part these amendments raised issues of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and the Middle East. Australian and New Zealand delegates played an active role in the informal consultations raising in particular, issues of feminism.

The United States worked diligently at its purpose, to keep the Draft Program of Actions as free from unfriendly amendments as possible. Although unsuccessful on paragraphs #2 and #5, all other paragraphs, ultimately 46 in number, were accepted by the U.S. In particular, the U.S. worked on negotiating acceptable language on the NIEO issues and the feminist perspective. For further substantive discussion of these issues, see Sections XIV. E. of this report.

VIII. REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

Organization of Work and Framework for Debate

At its first plenary meeting on July 14, 1980, the Conference established the First Committee on the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee and assigned to it responsibility for the following items:

Item 7(a): Effects of apartheid on women in Southern Africa: review of the situation;

Item 8(a): Review and evaluation of the progress made and obstacles encountered in attaining the objectives of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, at the national, regional and international levels, from 1975 to 1980, in keeping with the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year: Review and evaluation of progress made and obstacles encountered at the national level in attaining the minimum objectives set forth in paragraph 46 of the World Plan of Action;

Item 9(a): Program of Action for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, 1981 to 1985, designed to implement the World Plan of Action: National targets and strategies for women's integration and participation in economic and social development, with special emphasis on the subtheme "Employment, Health and Education": (i) Planning and Monitoring; (ii) National machineries;

Item 10(a): Effects of Israeli occupation on Palestinian women inside and outside the occupied territories: A review of the social and economic needs of the Palestinian women.

The Committee, composed of representatives of all the participating countries considered these items at its various sessions held from the 15 to 29th of July, 1980. For its consideration, the Committee had before it the documents mentioned in the relevant sections of the Annotations to the provisional agenca (A/CONF. 94/1), a number of background documents and over 400 amendments and 11 resolutions submitted by member nations.

Madame Maimowna Kane (Senegal), elected by acclamation at the first plenary meeting of the Conference, July 14, 1980, served as the First Committee's Presiding Officer. Madame Kane is known in the UN, and worldwide as a forceful and highly competent Chairperson. She more than exceeded this reputation.

At its first meeting, July 15, 1980, the Committee elected the following officers:

Deputy Presiding Officers:	Ms. Rafidah Aziz (Malaysia) Ms. Leonidas Paez de Virgili (Paraguay) Ms. Maria Groza (Romania)
Rapporteur:	Ms. M. Van Hemeldonck (Belgium)

During the same session, the Committee decided to request each regional group to designate two persons to serve as "friends of the Rapporteur" to assist Ms. Van Hemeldonck in her work.

At its second meeting, July 16, the Committee decided to establish a drafting group, consisting of two representatives from each regional group, to consider amendments proposed to the Draft Program of Action. The membership was as follows:

African States:	Ms. Farkhonda Hassan (Egypt) Ms. Rokiatousow (Mali)
Asian States:	Ms. Ginko Sato (Japan) Ms. Charma Wanita Gandi (Indonesia)
Eastern European States:	Mr. Jaroslav Havelka (Czechoslovakia) Ms. Aleksandra Biryukova (USSR)
Latin American States:	Ms. Shirley Field-Ridley (Guyana) Ms. Ruby Betancourt (Mexico)
Western European and Other States:	Ms. Gabriele Holzer (Austria) Ms. Jacqueline Abitboul (France)

The elected officials' roles were pivotal. As in similar meetings conducted in the atomosphere of politically contentious agenda items and high tension, these persons set the tone and determined the dispatch with which debate progressed.

From the outset, Madame Kane sought to avoid the acrimonious political debate present in other committees, by focussing the agenda on substantive deliberations of committee items while maintaining their import in the wider context in which all social change must occur.

Representatives were encouraged to analyze the Program of Action from the point of view of how it applied to their particular government. Thus the debate was confined to inserting language changes to make a specific point more applicable to the world's variety of political systems or to add a new point which had been overlooked in the provisional program. Madame Kane worked for consensus and deliberately avoided recorded notes. Whenever a dichotomous disagreement developed, as many did due to sharp ideological, cultural and economic differences, she sought--through the "friends of the Rapporteur," the drafting group or the informal working groups--to prepare the necessary compromise or synthesis to achieve general acceptance. While this was a useful strategy, it often had the effect of delaying the debate process.

In connection with its consideration of item 9(a) (draft Program of Action), the Committee decided to deal with the relevant part of the draft Program (Part Two) paragraph by paragraph and at the same time with amendments proposed to these paragraphs. In addition to written amendments, other amendments were proposed orally. The proposed amendments were considered also in a working group composed of the "friends of the Rapporteur" and the drafting group. The Working Group was chaired by the Rapporteur. Again, while this strategy had its advantages, it also had the disadvantage of delaying Committee action resulting in the necessity of extra Committee sessions.

It was agreed that the Committee would consider the items allocated to it without a general debate. It was further agreed that items 8(a) and 9(a) would be discussed concurrently.

Whenever the planks were unsuited to a nation's particular form of government, such as the U.S. federal system wherein many powers are reserved to the states or the British system which operates without a constitution, a nation simply requested that the paragraph be starred and a reservation noted. Unfortunately, the Conference Secretariat failed to record a number of these reservations which had been acknowledged orally during the sessions. The U.S. delegation repeatedly made oral and written statements to the Rapporteur to remedy this.

Even the debate on apartheid and Palestine, while loaded with the to-be-expected propaganda tirades, was handled with dispatch and was even cut in time to allow the drafting committee more time to meet. In the end, the United States voted in favor of Part II of the Program of Action.

Atmosphere

The chair, when occupied by Mrs. Kane, and the Secretariat, under the direction of Ms. M. Van Hemeldouck of Belgium, worked well together and seemingly impartially. However, at least twice, and one of those times was crucial to the U.S., Mrs. Kane abruptly left the chair and Deputy Presiding Officer Ms. Maria Groza from Romania replaced her.

At times there was blatant failure to observe UN parliamentary rules, particularly in the case of Eastern European officials and Arab UN officials. This was inexcusable and was a source of great protest as the practice caused much confusion and tension.

The U.S. delegation to the First Committee was skillfully led by Alexis Herman. Employing parliamentary wizardry and subject matter expertise, Ms. Herman catapulted the U.S. to a prominent role in consideration of the issues and helped the U.S. capture the support of allied and non-allied nations.

Dorothy Height represented the U.S. during discussions of the U.S. sponsored resolution "Women and Discrimination Based on Race." Eunice Fiorito, a blind member of the U.S. delegation, occupied the U.S. Chair to speak to the U.S. sponsored resolution on "Improving the Situation of Disabled Women of All Ages." Marjorie Bell Chambers filled the U.S. chair for the remainder of the First Committee's work and held the U.S. Chair when its report was presented for final debate and adoption in the Plenary.

It was stressed that to ensure that benefits of technological advance became accessible to women, women must make a substantial input into technological design, choice and control.

It was also stated that in both developing and developed countries new technologies had too often been introduced without sufficiently careful consideration of their full impact on women. This had therefore also sometimes resulted in the displacement of women from their existing occupations. The introduction of such technology should include built-in arrangements for training women in its use and for their full participation in the new employment opportunities which were thereby made available.

With respect to employment in developing countries, a large number of delegations said that the great majority of women worked in the informal, unorganized sector. Employment in this sector needed to be covered by legislative and other measures, in order to ensure the protection of women workers, including improvement in their working conditions, higher wages and increased economic returns.

In many developing countries, self-employment accounted for and would continue to account for a large percentage of women's participation in the labor force. However, as several delegations noted, women lacked access to the necessary information and training. They also experienced difficlty in obtaining credit. Measures to provide this information and training and to provide access to these facilities would be an important factor in increasing women's participation in economic activity.

Some delegations referred to the role of educated women or women in influential positions. Future efforts to organize and mobilize women should include strategies which would make the most effective use of these valuable human resources. Governments should recognize the importance of these groups. Women's organizations should consider strategies for the best use of their talents and capacities towards the promotion of women in high-level network decision-making positions.

Early in the first week before the Committee of the Whole was underway and the Second Committee had become politicized, Koryne Horbal shared responsibilities with Alexis Herman, but her talents were soon needed elsewhere. Vern Goff ably served as documents officer throughout. Roma Stewart, Maureen Rafferty, Odessa Komer and Mary Grefe served as rapporteurs for the United States delegation to this Committee. The other U.S. delegates assigned to the First Committee helped primarily with drafting amendments and lobbying on behalf of U.S. sponsored resolutions.

Summary of the Debate

The essence of the discussion on the basic themes which emerged is reflected in the passages which follow.

All delegations which spoke on political participation agreed on the overriding need to increase women's participation in decision-making, especially in those areas which were of central importance to the planning and governing of their societies. Often important decisions were made in bodies other than popularly elected ones -- such as public councils, boards and committees -- and in these the proportion of women members was too often even lower than in elected bodies.

A number of delegations referred to the important role of the media in accurately depicting women in present day society and thereby helping to change the way women are viewed in society.

There was a broad measure of agreement on the need to redefine the roles of women and men in relation to their societies, and more especially in the family. Women and men must learn how to share responsibility for their families. Such redefinition of roles would require not only changes in the attitudes of the individuals and the societies but also structural changes at every level and, most especially, at the family level.

A majority of delegations expressed concern about the frequently negative impact of technological advances of women's employment opportunities and living conditions. It was noted that in developed market economies and in developing countries women workers in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs were among the first victims of labor-saving technology.

There was unanimous agreement on the essential role which education played in the advancement of women, and the urgent need to promote female literacy, which still lagged behind, particularly in the developing countries. There was also a need to abolish existing differentials in the over-all educational attainment rates of boys and girls.

Some delegations referred to the importance of educating women to make them aware of existing legislative and other provisions concerning their rights and duties.

Some delegations stressed the need to give higher priority to peace, as one of the aims of the Decade. Peace was a precondition for real equality and development. It was suggested that both educational systems and the mass media should be more involved in the positive promotion of peace. The media should be urged to stop the glorification of "might and power". There should be programs of education for peace and the respect of human rights at every level, beginning with the primary schools and going on to the universities.

A number of representatives stated that the descriptive list of national machineries (A/CONF. 94/11/Add. 11) was incomplete. The representative of Japan regretted that paragraph 127 of the report on employment (A/CONF. 94/8/Rev. 1) did not reflect accurately the current debate in Japan concerning labor legislation.

The debate on Annex I - The Program of Action at the National Level provided instructive techniques and national strategies for accelerating the full participation of women, national development plans and policies; national machinery and legislative measures.

Effects of Apartheid on Women in southern Africa: Review of the Situation

In the First Committee's deliberations on Agenda Item 7(a); Effects of apartheid on Women in southern Africa: Review of the situation; four major themes emerged from delegations' statements. The first (1) was the condemnation of apartheid and the affirmation of solidarity with the liberation struggles in general, and southern women in particular. The second (2) was the identification of the special nature of oppression suffered by black southern African women as a result of apartheid. The third (3) was recognition of the contribution of the liberation movements to the struggle. The fourth (4) was condemnation of the international links with and support of the Republic of South Africa.

Delegations unanimously condemned the apartheid policy of the Republic of South Africa. They reaffirmed their solidarity with the struggle against apartheid and racism and many welcomed the newly independent State of Zimbabwe as a participant for the first time in a United Nations Conference. The oppressive effects of apartheid on all black men, women and children were generally recognized, and it was agreed that the black women of southern Africa were one of the most oppressed groups. Many delegations emphasized that the time had come to take concrete and practical measures to alleviate the plight of these women. The hope was expressed that the Conference would succeed where others had failed by agreeing on significant measures of assistance for black women in southern Africa.

Referring to the documents before them, many delegations described different aspects of the situation of the black women in southern Africa. Reference was made to the detrimental implications for women of the migrant labor system, pass laws, mass population removals and the relegation of wives and children to the homelands, which together had contributed to the break-up of many families.

All delegations who spoke on this item expressed their admiration for the courage of the black woman of southern Africa in their struggle for fundamental rights. The Special Committee against apartheid made special mention of the outstanding leadership of women in the trade union movement and in the struggle for national liberation, and assured the Committee that it would do all in its power to promote the implementation of the Conference's recommendations on assistance to the women of South Africa.

Many delegations commended the contribution and leadership of the southern African liberation movements. The observers for the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan African Congress (PAC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) made statements in the Committee. The ANC referred to the important role played by women, along side men, in the liberation movement;

through this participation in the struggles for national liberation, equality with men was being forged. The ANC stressed, however, that this equality could not be achieved except in a favorable socio-political and economic environment. In South Africa the denial of equal rights to black women was inherent in the policy of apartheid. The PAC described its role in the struggle against apartheid and emphasized the importance of measures of assistance. SWAPO drew attention to the deteriorating situation of women in Namibia and made an appeal for special measures aimed at the elimination of racism.

Deploring the continuing economic, political, cultural -- including sport -- and military links maintained by many countries with the Republic of South Africa in breach of numerous resolutions adopted by United Nations bodies and in defiance of a broad current of international opinion, many delegations stressed that these links were a major prop for the racist regime. They urged Governments to sever such links. In this regard, the policies of some NATO countries, as well as Israel, were severely criticized by a number of delegations. In response, the representatives of Israel strongly denied a claim that it has military relations with the Republic of South Africa. The representative of Luxembourg, speaking on behalf of the European Community, pointed out that its member states strictly applied the Security Council sanctions with regard to South Africa and adopted a code of conduct for their economic activities in South Africa. The representative of the Federal Republic of Germany considered that the severance of relations with the Republic of South Africa was not the best method of fighting apartheid; dialogue represented a more effective approach. Many delegations expressed grave concern at the increasing militarization of the Republic of South Africa, which they asserted posed a threat to international peace and security. In this regard, they noted South Africa's recent steps in developing nuclear weapons, and its repeated military aggression against the front-line States, especially Angola.

On a point of intervention the U.S. Representative spoke eloquently of the pernicious effects of the apartheid system especially the triple burden of discrimination based on sex, race and class. The delegate joined other member nations in an appeal for greater assistance measures to combat the expansion of repressive actions and legislation that have resulted in the persecution of increasing numbers of women, i.e., pass laws and resident acts. Concern was expressed also for humanitarian and material assistance to the growing number of refugees; integration of women into leadership and support positions and the necessity to vastly expand the access of women in southern Africa to education and training, employment including pay opportunities for farm and garden industries and availability of health and nutritional care and food production.

Although the agenda subitem concerning special measures for assistance to women in southern Africa was not before the Committee, many delegations stressed the importance of such assistance and addressed the issued in general terms. One delegation, supported by a number of others, observed that hitherto international efforts to eradicate apartheid had proved inadequate and that there was an urgent need to adopt new and innovative measures if efforts were to succeed. Specifically, the focus of international assistance and attention needed to be redirected to the front-line states supporting the liberation struggle. The economic hardship faced by these countries due to the large influx of refugees from southern Africa, and the destruction caused by South Africa's military aggression, had seriously compromised their development and had limited their ability to continue supporting the liberation struggles.

It was proposed that a new approach was needed in the provision of international assistance for the education and training of black South Africans, especially the black women. For such education and training to be of relevance to the needs and reality of southern Africa, it needed to be provided in developing, rather than developed countries. In this regard, international assistance in this area needed to be directed toward those developing countries which had demonstrated their willingness and ability to provide such education and training.

Referring to the issue of measures for assistance, one delegation noted that it was important to ensure that women as well as men benefited from the assistance given by United Nations bodies in support of the struggle against apartheid in southern Africa. In the past, this had seldom been the case.

Effects of Israeli Occupation on Palestinian Women Inside and Outside the Occupied Territories: A Review of the Social and Economic Needs of Palestinian Women

In the course of the First Committee's discussion of item 10(a), the majority of delegations stressed that the social and economic needs of Palestinian women could not be discussed in isolation, but only within the wider context of the struggles of the Palestinian people for self-determination. They affirmed that a political settlement in the Middle East was a precondition of an improvement in the situation of Palestinian women and that such a settlement could only be achieved with the full realization of the rights of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. These delegations condemned Israel's policies towards the Palestinian people and expressed their solidarity with the Palestinians, in the occupied territories and elsewhere, in their struggle for political independence. In this context, many delegations condemned the United States for its support of Israel and criticized the Camp David agreements which they rejected as a denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. A number of delegations drew attention to the similarities of the policies of the Governments of Israel and South Africa.

The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) said it was idle to discuss the rights of the Palestinian women while the entire Palestinian people were denied basic human rights, and stated that the struggle of Palestinian women for their own liberation was inextricably linked with the struggle for the liberation of their homeland. She described the detrimental effects of Israeli occupation on Palestinian women: the break-up of thousands of families; murder, imprisonment and torture; confiscation of land; and discrimination in employment, health care and education.

The representative of the League of Arab States transmitted an appeal from Palestinian women in the occupied territories for an understanding of their cause and for assistance in their struggle to regain their territory so that they might play their full part in economic and social development.

The representative of Israel vigorously rejected these charges, particularly those of the PLO, describing them as an attempt to divert the attention of the Conence from its main objective and introduce a political debate that belonged in other fora. In the view of the delegation of Israel, document A/CONF. 94/21, the report of the Economic Commission for Western Asia on Palestinian Women, was malicious, tendentious and inaccurate. She stated that zionism was the national liberation movement of the Jewish people and that the land of Israel was the root of their culture. In denying the charges of Israeli maltreatment of Palestinian women, she referred to the considerable improvements in aspects of their social, economic and cultural life in recent years. Israel hoped that all women would call for peace and co-operation in the Middle East.

The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic recalled that a number of Arab delegations had referred to the effects of the Israeli occupation on Palestinian women inside and outside the occupied territory and had criticized the methods of the racist entity and the Camp David accords, the principles of which were intended to liquidate the Palestinian cause. They refuted the claims put forward by the representative of the racist entity, Israel, and exposed the violations being committed against the Palestinian people in general and Palestinian women in particular inside and outside the other occupied Arab territories and in South Lebanon and the expanisonist policy being implemented through the establishment of settlements, thereby confirming that zionism was not a national liberation movement, as claimed by the representative of the racist entity, but rather a movement that was racist in both its structure and its practices.

The representative of the United States, in attempts to dispel the increasingly explosive direction of the dialogues, reiterated the view that the complex problems of the Middle East could be discussed more productively in other United Nations fora, particularly in the current special session of the General Assembly, but expressed willingness to discuss the problems of Palestinian women in a spirit of compassion and understanding. The United States supported Israel's view that the documentation was distorted and inappropriate and Israel's right to respond to the unfair, exaggerated charges levelled against it. In response to criticism of the Camp David agreements, the United States characterized them as a step towards peace and towards a just settlement of the conflict for both the people of Israel and the Palestinian people.

Other delegations expressed sympathy for the plight of Palestinian women and said their countries were willing to extend specific assistance to them through the appropriate channels. In this context, reference was made to the important role of UNRWA. These political and humanitarian aspects of the problem if effective humanitarian assistance was to be given to Palestinian women. The Conference should not enter into a confrontational and divisive political debate, but should rather concentrate on practical measures of assistance on which agreement was possible. They also expressed strong reservations on document A/CONF. 94/21.

In making a reply the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization stated that improvements in the status of Arab women in the occupied territories were not a substitute for self-determination. That view was supported by other delegations. In exercising its right to reply, Israel reiterated that it had not sought to minimize the political problems inherent in the conflict or to present improvements in life-style in lieu of a solution to these problems, but rather to concentrate on issues of concern to women.

Responding to accusations of collusion and treason for its country's role in the Camp David agreements, the representative of Egypt stated that the position of Egypt on the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and independence was clear and that Egypt would continue to safeguard the rights of the Palestinians, despite unjustified criticism. A number of other delegations reiterated their earlier statements in the exercise of the right of reply.

U.S. Contributions

The United States delegation was able to introduce a number of American feminist concepts into the Program of Action debate on the floor, in concert with WEOG partners, and in the drafting group to which a U.S. delegate was later appointed by Mrs. Kane. These included:

A. In the Political Arena

1. Governments and political parties should take affirmative action to increase the number of women in elective and appointive offices at all levels. Paragraph 71.

2. Governments should recognize NGO Women's groups as being critical to enhancing the status of women. Paragraph 102.

B. In Employment

1. Equal renumeration for work of equal value. Paragraph 109.
2. Increased involvement of males in domestic life and child care. Paragraphs 114, 136, 138, 159.
3. Protect men and women equally from reproductive hazards. Paragraph 123.
4. Recognition of women's unpaid work. Paragraph 128.
5. Childcare centers. Paragraphs 129, 138, 159.
6. Training and access to non-traditional jobs and careers. Paragraphs 130, 140.
7. Part-time workers receive proportional pay and benefits. Paragraph 132.
8. Flexi-time. Paragraph 138.
9. Management career ladders for women. Paragraph 140.

C. In Health

1. Protection against domestic violence. Paragraphs 141, 163.
2. Promote mental well-being. Paragraph 147.
3. Emphasized irresponsible promotion of breast milk substitutes. Paragraph 153.
4. Elimination of occupational health hazards likely to affect reproductive functions. Paragraph 159.

5. Encouragement of parental leave to enable women and men to carry out their parental roles. Paragraph 159.
6. Needs of elderly women living alone. Paragraph 160.
7. Needs of handicapped women. Paragraph 160.
8. Full medical attention for adolescent women. Paragraph 161.
9. Protection against alcohol, tobacco and drug abuse. Paragraph 164.

D. In Education

1. Promote development of non-sexist resource and curriculum materials. Paragraph 182.
2. Include courses on women's issues in university degree programs. Paragraph 184.
3. Encourage parity of men and women in teaching and administrative positions at all levels of education. Paragraph 188.

Unfortunately two U.S. ideas which were accepted earlier are missing in the final program:

1. Recognition of non-formal education.
2. Recognition of need to promote strategies to decrease girls unpaid domestic service so they can remain in school.

RESOLUTIONS

The United States initiated and/or co-sponsored four resolutions in First Committee:

1. "Improving the situation of Disabled Women of All Ages" (A/CONF. 94/I/L. 20) under which it appealed to all men and women of the world to support and contribute to the success of the International Year of Disabled Persons 1981 and the implementation of the Plan of Action for the Year; requested that programs of all member nations and specialized agencies of the United Nations for the International Year of Disabled Persons should explicitly take into consideration the special needs of Disabled Women of all ages for medical, social and vocational rehabilitation with the object of assuring the prevention of genetic, congenital and accidental disability through education; enlarging the scale of vocational skills and training facilities; acknowledging the special needs of women who have disabled children and encouraging special attention to the particular problems of disabled women of all ages in study and research projects designed to facilitate their practical participation in daily life as well as in training and in the labor market.

Eunice Fiorito, a blind member of the U.S. delegation, sat in the U.S. Chair to speak to the resolution.

The resolution was adopted.

2. "Elderly Women and Economic Security" (A/CONF. 94/I/L. 23) under which an account was taken of the value and worth of the elderly population of the world and concern by reports of neglect and denial of basic economic security for the expanding elderly population of the world, including women; recalled General Assembly resolution 34/153 of December 1979 calling for a World Assembly on the Elderly in 1982 and the request that the Secretary General and relevant agencies collect data on the elderly incorporating specifically data on elderly women and submit these data to member states participating in the World Conference of the U.N. Decade for Women to the World Assembly on the Elderly, to the Commission on the Status of Women at its 29th Session, with a view to recommending necessary action related to the plight of elderly women throughout the world. The measure also requests member states of the United Nations to ensure that women are included in the planning process for and are appointed as members of their delegations to the World Assembly on the Elderly in 1982.

The resolution was adopted.

3. "Battered Women and Violence in the Family" (A/CONF. 94/I/L. 24) under which it is considered that violence in the home, in the family as well as in institutions -- in particular physical, sexual and other forms of abuse of women, children and the elderly constitutes an intolerable offense to the dignity of human beings as well as a grave problem for the physical and mental health of the family and for society; recognizes that domestic violence is a complex problem for which the causes vary but whose contributing factors include: geographic or social isolation, financial difficulties, irregular employment, alcohol or drug abuse and low self-esteem; requests the Secretary General of the U.N. and relevent organizations of the U.N. system to prepare a study on the extent and types of abuse and existing resources available for relief, urges member states to consider, where appropriate, establishing family courts staffed wherever possible with personnel, including women trained in law and in relevant disciplines, as well as those with special experience and expertise further urges member states to adopt measures to protect the victims of family violence and to implement programs whose aims are to prevent such abuse as well as to provide centers for treatment shelters and counselling of victims of violence and sexual assault and provide rehabilitation care.

The Resolution was adopted.

4. "Women and Discrimination Based on Race" (A/CONF. 94/I/L. 26) The resolution was adopted. However, due to unacceptable amendments--by Syria who added language denouncing racist regimes and all countries who co-operate with those regimes in economic, military and nuclear fields, and by the German Democratic Republic who added a reference to the Declaration of Mexico and claimed that the World Plan of Action discussed women of color adequately and cited the Convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (a convention to which the U.S. was a signatory but has not yet ratified) --the United States was forced to withdraw its original sponsorship and vote against the amended resolution as reintroduced by Angola.

See Section XIV. D. of this report for further discussion.

Recommendations

The First Committee recommended to the Conference the adoption of Part Two, Chapter III of the draft Program of Action for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women as amended in the course of the Committee's deliberations and as set out in Annex I of the Committee Report. The text of this Chapter entitled "The Program of Action at the National Level - National Targets and Strategies for the Full Participation of Women in Economic and Social Development can be found in paragraphs 47-105 of the Program of Action.

It is important to note that the text embodies many of the ideas, issues and strategies identified in the National and Regional Outreach Conferences, co-sponsored by the U.S. Secretariat, as of interest to United States women and reviewed as critical to the advancement of women worldwide.

Discussion includes:

National Strategies for Accelerating the Full Participation of Women in Economic and Social Development

The improvement of the status of women requires action at the national, local and family levels. It also requires a change of men's and women's attitudes towards their roles and responsibilities in society. The joint responsibility of men and women for the welfare of the family in general and the care of their children in particular must be reaffirmed.

Governments should explicitly state their firm commitment to accord high priority to legislative and other measures for accelerating the equal and full participation of women in economic and social development with a view to eliminating the existing inequalities between men and women in all sectors.

National strategies should as a matter of urgency integrate women into their efforts towards the New International Economic Order and a new international development strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade by:

(a) studying and identifying new areas for national projects that would accelerate socio-economic growth and at the same time enhance the social-economic participation of women by fostering economic and technical co-operation among countries;

(b) providing advisory services for accelerating national self-reliance in co-operation with United Nations organizations; also ensuring that women assist in determining that technology transfer has a positive impact on the socio-economic situation and health of women, as well as on their working conditions;

(c) adopting measures to make equal opportunities for development and services available to women in rural areas and to women in urban areas by reversing processes of unequal economic growth, implementing special investment and incentive programs in disadvantaged sectors (controlling mechanisms) for the transfer of resources from one sector to another and, where possible, preventing the rural sector from being impoverished to the advantage of the urban sector.

National Development Plans and Policies

Governments should undertake the following:

(a) the establishment of qualitative and quantitative targets for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace; projections for the planning cycles of 1985-1995 should be made where appropriate, and reviews conducted in 1985 and 1990. These should especially seek to remove the gap between the attainments of men and women, between rural and urban women and between all women in underprivileged population groups, and other women in all sectors and particularly in the sections of employment, health and education.

(b) systematic and sustained linking of efforts to integrate women into national development planning and policies, particularly in the sectors of employment, education and health, and in the allocation of adequate material, technical and personnel resources within each sector of national development;

(c) the establishment of appropriate provisions for monitoring and evaluating the extent to which women participate in and benefit from both general and sectoral development programs: reliable data should be collected and technical services provided for periodic reviews of the progress made at all levels of society in every major sector of the national development programs; targets should be established along with the allocation of physical and financial resources in every development program, in order to ensure a more just distribution of benefits to women;

(d) the development and improvement of infrastructural technology, basic services and incentives, particularly for the rural sectors of the population and the urban poor; women should be given equal rights of landownership, equal access to credit and financing, basic sanitation, safe water and energy resources, and the skills to maintain and build community self-reliance.

(e) the organization of working women, in all the unorganized sectors, for protection against exploitation, for socio-occupational mobility through education and training and necessary supportive services for children;

(f) the establishment of incentives and concrete programs for increasing the participation of women in decision-making processes at all levels and in all spheres of national development;

Wherever possible time-tables should be established for the achievement of particular objectives.

National Machinery

Where it is appropriate but does not exist, national machinery should be established -- and preferably at the highest level of government. By national machinery should be understood central institutions at the national level and furthermore, where appropriate, a comprehensive network of extensions in the form of commissions, offices or posts at different levels including the local administrative level because of its better capacity for dealing with specific local situations as well as working units in the relevant branches of administration, in order to ensure the effective implementation of action programs ensuring the equality of men and women with a view to:

(a) upgrading the capacity and role of national development plans,

(b) conceptualizing women's problems in an integrated manner within each sector of development and at the same time developing effective methodologies, policies and mechanisms for affirmative action, where appropriate, to ensure an integrated approach, and

(c) ensuring the full participation of women in measures taken by government or other agencies.

Effective institutional links between national machinery and national planning units as well as national women's organizations, should be established with a view to: increasing their decision-making powers; increasing their technical, financial and personnel resources; and advising on new approaches to accelerate the full participation of women in every sector of the development process, according to national priorities.

The national machinery should increase the participation of grass-roots organizations, such as women's and youth associations, rural workers' organizations, community organizations, religious groups, neighborhood associations, as well as trade unions, both in decision-making and in the implementation of projects and in this regard should serve as a liaison unit between appropriate government agencies and grass-roots organizations.

The national machinery should implement effective programs aimed at ensuring that women participate in and benefit from the implementation, at the national, regional and international levels, of the relevant recommendations of such major United Nations conferences as the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, and the international Conference on Primary Health Care.

Action Taken in Plenary on the Report of the First Committee

At the 20th plenary meeting on July 30, 1980 the Rapporteur of the First Committee introduced the Committee's report in which the Committee recommended to the Conference the adoption of Part Two, Chapter III of the draft Program of Action, as revised by the Committee, and eleven draft resolutions (Nos. I to XI).

At its 20th and 21st plenary meetings on 30 July 1980 the Conference took action on the recommendations of the First Committee.

At the 21st plenary meeting the Conference adopted without a vote Part Two, Chapter III of the draft Program of Action as recommended by the First Committee.

At the 20th plenary meeting the Conference adopted without a vote the following draft resolutions recommended by the Committee:

Draft resolution I entitled "Family Planning"

Draft resolution II entitled "Improving the situation of disabled women of all ages"

Draft resolution III entitled "Migrant women"]

Draft resolution IV entitled "Elderly women and economic security

Draft resolution V entitled "Battered women and violence in the family"

Draft resolution VI entitled "Review and evaluation of progress made in the implementation of the World Plan of Action at the National Level"

At the 21st plenary meeting the Conference adopted without a vote the following draft resolutions recommended by the First Committee:

Draft resolution VII entitled "Special measures in favour of young women"

Draft resolution VIII entitled "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women"

Draft resolution IX entitled "Women living in conditions of extreme poverty"

IX. REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE

Organization of Work

The Conference at its first plenary meeting on July 14, 1980 allocated the following items to the Second Committee:

Item 7(b): Effects of apartheid on women in southern Africa: special measures for assistance to women in southern Africa;

Item 8(b): Review and evaluation of the progress made and obstacles encountered in attaining the objectives of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, at the national, regional and international levels, from 1975 to 1980, in keeping with the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year: review and evaluation of regional and global programs of the United Nations system of organizations aimed at promoting the objectives of the Decade.

Item 9(b): Program of Action for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, 1981-1985, designed to implement the World Plan of Action: regional and international targets and strategies, taking into account the subtheme "Employment, Health and Education".

Item 9(c): Program of Action for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, 1981-1985, designed to implement the World Plan of Action: the situation of women refugees the world over.

Item 10(b): Effects of Israeli occupation on Palestinian women inside and outside the occupied territories: special measures for assistance to Palestinian women inside and outside the occupied territories.

The Committee considered these items at meetings held from July 15 to 29, 1980. For its consideration of the items the Committee had before it the documents mentioned in the relevant sections of the annotations to the provisional agenda (A/CONF. 94/1), which also referred to a number of background documents.

Draft resolution X entitled "Promotion of equality in education and training"

At the same meeting, the Conference adopted by a roll-call vote of 78 to 3, with 39 abstentions, the draft resolution XI recommended by the First Committee and entitled "Women and Discrimination Based on Race".

The Presiding Officer of the Committee was Mrs. Shiela Kaul (India) who was elected by acclamation at the 1st plenary meeting of the Conference.

At its 1st meeting July 15 the Committee elected the following officers:

Deputy Presiding Officers:	Ms. Maria de Lourdes C. E. S. de Vicenzi (Brazil) Mr. Chavdar Kiuranov (Bulgaria) Ms. Nermin Abadan-Unat (Turkey)
Rapporteur:	Mr. Ali Benbouchta (Morocco)

International Situation

The Second Committee not only dealt with development issues per se, but also key political issues which were introduced during the Preparatory Committee meetings. Although the National Strategies section of the Program of Action was adopted by consensus, certain international issues scheduled for Committee II caused trouble for the United States, particularly agenda item 10 ("Effects of Israeli Occupation on Palestinian Women") and agenda item 7 ("Effects of Apartheid on Women in southern Africa.") In addition, the issue of women refugees item 9(c) raised political questions.

In the end, it was India's amendment to the Program of Action which called for "assistance to Palestinian women in cooperation and consultation with the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people", which was the major reason why the U.S. along with Israel, Australia and Canada voted "no" on the whole Program of Action.

Ironically, it was the nations who believe themselves most committed to women's rights and equality of opportunity who were forced to vote no or abstain on political grounds. And it was those governments who are not known internationally for their stands in favor of human, civil or women's rights who "politicized" the conference and then voted overwhelmingly for the Program of Action, a document which contains strong recommendations for promoting women's roles in development.

However, when the section on assistance to women refugees was passed, the United States was applauded for its diligence in bringing together many nations in behalf of a strengthened, humanitarian section.

The Program of Action

The Second Committee dealt with amendments to the draft Program of Action and Resolutions related to the international and regional agencies and to bilateral funding agencies. Many paragraphs in this section concentrated on women in development problems and activities and the major items in this section dealt with the role of the UN system in providing assistance to and analyzing the problems of women in developing countries.

The International Targets and Strategies section begins with the statement that "peace, security and national independence" are "essential prerequisites for an environment where the rights, responsibilities, and roles of women can be promoted." It further reinforces the commitment to a new international economic order and identifies the strengthening of regional programs as an important aspect of restructuring the United Nations system to meet this goal, noting the importance of the regional Plans of Action for the integration of women. The responsibility of the United Nations in taking "dynamic international action" to promote women's full and equal participation in development is affirmed.

To assist in that process, the document seeks to outline essential strategies and areas of action. The UN should cooperate with intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to implement women in development programs, including revising and redefining concepts and policies, if necessary. Development programs should take account of the contribution and interests of women, leading to appropriate programs which will increase women's productivity while guarding against adverse impacts. Among the new approaches for mobilizing women's resources, paragraph #221 specifies the development of "cooperative movements and community self reliance" in water, energy, health, sanitation and housing, day care centers, and other basic services."

As part of the emphasis on decentralization and sharing of technology and information among the developing countries, the Program argues that all development programs should utilize locally available expertise to improve the quality of project design and results. The activities of the UN Voluntary Fund are commended. The paragraph which argues that studies should be undertaken to seek new ways and means to integrate poor women into the development mainstream, including studies of the effects of wage policies, trade agreements and international commodity prices, a paragraph suggested by the U.S. delegation, requests UNESCO to study women's access to primary, secondary and post-secondary education, both formal and nonformal and WHO to assess progress made by women in gaining access to primary health care.

Paragraph #225 specifically calls for the compliation of comparative data on national legislation aimed at promoting sex equality "by way of generating ideas and exerting persuasion." A further section urges support for "national machineries" such as women's bureaus, while another speaks to women's organizations and grass roots participation in the preparation and implementation of programs and projects. The special session of the General Assembly on development, the forthcoming UN Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, and the Water Decade for Safe Potable Water are asked to look at women's issues in their sectors.

Further, the United Nations in cooperation with national governments, is called upon to increase participation of women by:

1. reducing the burden of traditional tasks through child care and appropriate technology and the fair division of labor between women and men;

2. counteract factors which tend to keep girls and women out of schools and training centers;

3. create new employment and occupational mobility opportunities for women;

4. increase the economic returns to women for their labor, and implement the principle of equal pay for work of equal value;

5. recognize the important contribution of women to economic development, raise the productivity of women's labor for their own benefit and the benefit of their families, and at the same time undertake appropriate structural changes . to prevent women's unemployment;

6. recognize the vital role of women in agriculture and guarantee them equitable access to land, technology, water, other natural resources, inputs and services and equal opportunities to develop their skills;

7. promote equal participation of women in the industrialization process, counteract negative effects of industrialization, and ensure that scientific and technological development will benefit both men and women; and

8. ensure women's active participation in and access to primary health care considering their specific health needs.

The above list represents the difficulty of isolating "women" as a special issue. Clearly a focus on women affects our view of all issues from health to employment, child care, and the concern for male involvement in conventionally "female" concerns. This also makes it difficult to set priorities, though the education of girls, employment and increasing women's productivity in both the "household" and what has conventionally been viewed as the "economic" sphere are important first goals, particularly when they are related to food production issues.

The Program of Action then identifies five areas for international programs and policies.

The first is technical cooperation, training and advisory services. Paragraph #231 states: "technical cooperation should be conceived in the context of overall development and not as welfare programs." The Program recognizes that women's low access to technology and technical and scientific training is central both to the low productivity of work and to the absence of women in scientific, technical and policy fields. Paragraph #233(d) gives support to the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) to improve women's technical and managerial skills. The UN Development Program (UNDP) is asked to continue its support for the Voluntary Fund, to promote regional, subregional and national projects for research and training, and to make guidelines for the implementation of the Program of Action part of their development cooperation policies.

The second area is mobilization of human resources, which begins with the statement that UN efforts should be intensified "to involve more men in programs for attitudinal change, particularly in employment, health, education, rural development and political participation." Both the UN system and national governments are asked to appoint more women, include women in their delegations to international conferences, and develop items on women's issues to be included in such conferences. Here again the link is made to the lack of science and technology training as a barrier to women's access.

The third area is "Assistance to women in southern Africa." Recommendations are addressed not only to the UN and member states, but also NGO's and other groups to give the following assistance to southern African liberation movements: (a) legal, humanitarian, moral, and political assistance; (b) training for women in positions of leadership; (c) training for roles after the struggles; (d) international support for the southern African women's struggle; and (e) dissemination of information about *apartheid* and racism to involve women. Women's sections of national liberation movements are to be encouraged and supported, and member states are called on to ratify the 1973 Convention against *apartheid*.

The fourth area for special attention is the issue of assistance to Palestinian women. The draft Program of Action did not introduce the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the appropriate agency through which to channel assistance. The Indian Amendment, however, called upon the UN, national governments and all groups to "provide assistance in consultation and co-operation with the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people", and emphasizes the need for data, the need to support the General Union of Palestinian Women, and the dissemination of information as well as health, employment and cultural measures. This amendment was passed in a chaotic afternoon session in which many nations protested the confusion and abrogation of the rules of procedure allowed by the Indian Chair.

Another special agenda item which fared better was that dealing with women refugees. The U.S. delegation spearheaded the effort to redraft this section and succeeded in developing a consensus on a draft which dealt with the humanitarian rather than the political aspects of the situation of women refugees. The central point of this section is that women and children form the bulk of refugees in many parts of the world and suffer disproporationately--"the traditional disadvantages of many women in society are intensified in refugee situation".

In this section the UN High Commissioner for Refugees is requested to formulate specific programs relevant to women in all phases of refugee life and to give senior level personnel responsibility, including monitoring international agencies involved in refugee relief.

The section on refugees opens with this statement, a U.S. amendment:

Humanitarian assistance to and resettlement of refugees, regardless of sex, race, religion or national origin, and wherever they may find themselves, is an international responsibility which all nations concerned should help to bear. Because the overwhelming proportion of refugees are women, who generally suffer more radical changes in role and status than male refugees, the United Nations and other international organizations are urged to address themselves specifically to the problems and vulnerabilities of women.

The section goes on to call for:

(a) Legal, humanitarian and moral assistance, ensuring the fullest respect of their human, civic and political rights; (b) special relief efforts to reach women and children, and particularly handicapped persons; (c) assistance and counselling in the country of asylum, with emphasis on self reliance; (d) special health care measures, including family planning services and supplemental feeding programs for pregnant and lactating mother; (e) training to prepare women for employment and self-sufficiency; (f) and special efforts to facilitate family reunion.

Also included was an item which called on "the UNHCR to encourage governments in whose territory abuses of women refugees take place to bring to justice the perpetrators of such abuses." Host country governments were also encouraged to allow sufficient international personnel in refugee camps to discourage exploitation or any attacks upon women refugees.

The role of women refugees in the operation and administration of refugee camps and in the design of training and orientation programs is encouraged. Furthermore, the UNHCR is urged to develop policies which actively involve refugee women in self help programs in an effort to fully utilize their skills and talents.

After its discussion of these issues, the Program of Action proceeds to the discussion of international standards, research and data dissemination of information, and review and appraisal of programs.

On international standards, the Program of Action calls for ratification or accession to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, adopted by the General Assembly in December 1979, and to support all the special conventions which relate to women. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women will monitor reporting systems under the Convention, and the UN Commission on the Status of Women will monitor the reporting system for the implementation of the Program of Action. There is special attention to the UN bodies with appropriate responsibilities to monitor the conduct of transnational corporations and the transfer of technology.

The issue of data and research received attention as a key element of policy and program implementation. The UN system was called upon to give "high priority to action-oriented research in areas where information does not already exist on ways of integrating women in development with a view to formulating development objectives, strategies and policy measures responsive to the needs of women and men." The research is to be aimed at developing effective methodologies evaluating:

- the health status of women
- the double burden of working women
- the degree of absence of women from employment because of maternity
- educational opportunities or lack thereof for women
- factors contributing to illiteracy
- full access of women, including drop-outs, to all types and levels of education
- conditions of the female-headed household
- political participation of women
- nature of the contributions of women's organizations
- more systematic analysis of interrelationships between women's participation in development and demographic phenomena

A final sentence in this section calls for research on employment opportunities projected ten years beyond the UN Decade for Women and on training and educational programs needed to meet "the need for the specific workforce so identified."

Another item calls special attention to women's participation in international migration which is called "an enduring process" and suggests that research be conducted into the "economic functions, the legal and social status, difficulties arising from language barriers and the education of the second generation". ILO, WHO, UNESCO and FAO are all called upon to continue and to develop studies on the health, employment and educational conditions of migrant women including their relationship to social security, housing and social welfare policies.

As to dissemination of data, the UN is asked to make available compendia of statistics with the most recent data, time trend analyses, and measures designed to improve the situation of women. It is recommended that the Directory of International Statistics include a special section to measure, where data exist, progress toward the economic equality of the sexes.

Further, methods of collecting statistics should be examined and revised to encourage statistical operations free from sex based stereotypes and sensitive to the participation of women. The Program of Action also calls on the UN regional commisions in collaboration with the specialized agencies to:

--help countries to establish indicators to measure progress toward equality;

--prepare a regional inventory of social, economic and demographic indicators relevant to the analysis of the status of women, and data should be made available for use in development, implementation and evaluation of programs;

--increase the household survey capability; and

--increase the level of investment in long range fundamental research.

The UN system is called upon to insure that information on women be a part of international data banks and that the Joint United Nations Information Committee (JUNIC) take into consideration women's participation in information activities such as press, film and television projects, seminars, etc.

UN and specialized agency programs in a number of areas--including health, nutrition, food production, --are also called on to increase their information on matters affecting women, with emphasis on reaching mass audiences in rural and isolated regions where women tend to be cut off from the main media channels. Similarly, UN radio programs and UN films should include more materials on women; and all UN information networks and publications should increase their coverage of women. Communication components should be built into development programs, and bibliographies of studies on women in the development process are also recommended to be widely distributed.

The United Nations system is asked to review, every two years, the progress achieved in implementing the World Plan of Action and the Program of Action for the second half of the Decade. This is to be monitored by the Commission on the Status of Women by setting new priorities within existing budgetary limits.

Finally, the Program of Action turns to the issue of policy and program for the regional organizations and to the need for recruiting women to high level posts in all international organizations including the UN system.

RESOLUTIONS

The United States initiated and/or actively co-sponsored five resolutions discussed in the Second Committee.

1. "The situation of women refugees and displaced women the world over" (Resolution #12, A/CONF. 94/34 Add. 1)

The United States went to Copenhagen firmly committed to insuring an open and productive discussion of the situation of women refugees and prepared to sponsor a resolution on this issue. Ultimately, two resolutions with the same title were tabled and adopted by Conference delegates. The first, #12 cited above, was adopted in the Second Committee by consensus; the second, Resolution #13, A/CONF. 94/34 Add. 1, was adopted by a roll call vote 97-0-29(U.S.).

Both resolutions speak to the pressing global refugee problem, highlighting the specific ill-affects on women and girls. Both call for UN and bilateral humanitarian assistance and call for protective and preventative measures to curb physical abuse of women and children refugees. Furthermore, both resolutions call on the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to increase the number of women in all levels of refugee assistance programs.

The major substantive difference between the two is that the U.S. sponsored resolution does not cite or suggest any of the possible root causes of large regional or global refugee situations. Whereas Resolution #13 sites foreign aggression, racism, oppression, apartheid, colonialism, neo-colonialism, the use of inhumane weapons and methods of war and indiscriminate hostilities as causes for an increase in the problem, the U.S. sponsored resolution is silent. However, after extensive U.S. delegation lobbying efforts, Resolution #12 was adopted by consensus, followed by spontaneous applause.

2. "Women in the United Nations Secretariat" (Resolution #24, A/CONF. 94/34 Add. 1)

The issue of women in the UN system has long been a concern to the United States as it is to all the world's women. Three separate resolutions were tabled and adopted on this subject; -- one on the Commission on the Status of Women, one on the UN Voluntary Fund and one on the International Training and Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW).

The U.S. resolution calls for a review of current UN practices in the recruitment, promotion of women and enforcement of antidiscrimination mechanisms relating to women's employment.

The resolution was adopted by consensus.

3. "International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade" (Resolution #25, A/CONF. 94/34 Add. 1)

Because of the basic need for safe and potable drinking water, and understanding that women usually are tasked with carrying this water to their homes, sometimes spending up to 25% of their day doing it, the U.S. went forward with tabling the above resolution, which passed by consensus.

4. "Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others and Traffic on Persons" (Resolution #43, A/CONF. 94/34 Add. 1)

This resolution, co-sponsored by the U.S., passed by consensus. Its purpose was to highlight the deplorable exploitation of women and children worldwide and to increase awareness of these persons as victims and not perpetrators of crime. It is the U.S. hope that this resolution will provide the necessary impetus to the UN and other intergovernmental bodies, specialized agencies and NGO's with consultative status to develop both research and action programs to address this situation.

5. "Women in Agriculture and Rural Areas" (Resolution #44, A/CONF. 94/34 Add. 1)

The U.S. was an active co-sponsor of this resolution primarily due to the strong sense of identity among the world's rural women, including American rural women. The resolution speaks to the need for better technological transfer between countries, portrayal of rural women, the incrase in migration from rural to urban areas, job-training, access to education, health care and credit.

This resolution was adopted by consensus.

Conclusions

Despite a heavey load of international politics, the Copenhagen Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women moved women in development a giant step forward. The Program of Action developed at the Conference contains excellent guidelines and suggestions for women in development policy and activities at the national, regional and international levels. These guidelines and suggestions are directed at national governments, multilateral and bilateral development agencies, the UN system and private organizations. Since the United Nations' membership is dominated by Third World countries, it is not surprising that the guidelines and suggestions are development oriented.

Each country's delegation to every U.N. conference protects its foreign policy interests first and deals with the subject matter of the conference second. Women's conferences are not different--in fact, because of the broad range of subject matter of women's conferences, they are, perhaps, especially susceptible to international politics. The Copenhagen Conference for the UN Decade for Women had three "political" items on its agenda. These political items created most of the media attention and, in fact, dominated the discussions at Copenhagen. However when the final Program of Action was adopted it was women's issues and development questions, not the political questions, which dominated the document.

X. REPORT OF THE PLENARY

The Plenary convened for the first time July 14, 1980 for Conference opening ceremonies; twenty subsequent sessions were held for a total of twenty-one plenary meetings. The Conference officially was opened by Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary General and Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II of Denmark. In addition, His Excellency, Mr. Anker Jorgensen, Prime Minister of Denmark addressed the delegates and Mrs. Lise Ostergaard, Minister for Cultural Affairs of Denmark thanked the delegates for electing her President of the Conference.

All the opening speakers stressed global interdependency and women's potential contribution to the development of society. Secretary General Waldheim stressed the importance of "Equality, Development and Peace", the objectives of the UN Decade for Women. and further outlined the need to proceed toward each simultaneously. Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II noted that societal attitudes towards women and men should be flexible and that women are actively seeking to shape development of those societies in which they live. Prime Minister Jorgensen, in his address, stated that the Conference offered an important opportunity to bridge the varied concepts of "Equality, Development and Peace." Mrs. Ostergaard spoke about the economic situation of women, citing many of the horrendous effects of poverty, illiteracy, poor health and lack of access to paid employment. She further voiced her hopes that the delegates would move forward in their work looking for universally acceptable conclusions which would produce effects worldwide.

The last major event in the opening ceremony was deliverance to the Secretary General of a petition signed by more than half a million Nordic women. The petition urged prompt action to achieve disarmament and peace, an end to all aggression and to the power struggle of the great Powers, in order that the resources so released might be used for constructive purposes.

During this same session, delegates adopted the rules of procedure and the agenda. In its second meeting, delegates elected officers other than the President, allocated work to the Conference Committees and established the Committee of the Whole.

From July 15-25, delegates heard 137 national speeches, 11 addresses from Commissions or specialized agencies, various speeches from official observers, messages from Heads of State and 37 rights of reply. Most od the speeches concentrated on assessing national progress in the Conference subtheme of "Health, Education and Employment," as well as "Equality, Development and Peace." Sarah Weddington, co-head of the U.S. delegation, delivered the U.S. speech, which was interrupted five times by applause. (See Tab 7 for a copy of this speech; Tab 8 for President Carter's message delivered by U.S. Delegate Judy Carter; for topical contents of other speeches see Chapter IV of the UN Report on the World Conference, Tab 9).

There were a small number of organized protests throughout the national speeches. During the Israeli speech, Leila Khalid, PLO observer and known hi-jacker and terrorists, led a walk-out of some Soviet Bloc and Arab states. On the same day, between 26 and 70 (reports are conflicting) nations walked out in protest of the speaker from Democratic Kampuchea (DK). DK had been officially credentialed by the Credential Committee. There was a small walkout during Egypt's national speech delivered by Mrs. Jihan Sadat.

On July 18, the Head of the Bolivian delegation was invited to address the Conference. She denounced the Bolivian coup which had just taken place attacking "the most reactionary forces in my country." Her intervention came after hours of demonstration in front of the Bella Center by sympathizers of the felled Bolivian regime, and after an unfortunate incident between the Conference security forces and the demonstrators.

Polemics and rhetoric were present during the speeches. While the U.S. infrequently came under direct attack, there were numerous references to imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and the global tensions instigated by the world's super powers. When appropriate, the U.S. asked for the right of reply. In particular attacks came from North Korea, Grenada, the PLO, Iraq, and the African National Congress of South Africa. There were, of course, numerous attacks on Israel.

On July 30, the 20th and 21st Plenary sessions were convened. During the 20th session, delegates partially approved the work of the First and Second Committees. Because of a delay in Conference documentation, translation and reproduction, the organization of work became somewhat confusing. In the 21st session, Conference delegates completed their work, adopting the Program of Action and 48 Resolutions.

In the final hours of that last session, paragraphs #2 and #5 were still to be settled, and vote on the Program of Action as a whole was still to be taken. Paragraph #2, refers to the Declaration of Mexico, which equates zionism and racism, and the Conference of Non-Aligned and Developing Countries on the Role of Women in Development, Baghdad, May 1979, which repudiates the Camp David accords. Although there were many attempts for compromise language on this paragraph, none were satisfactory. The paragraph with the above references was adopted 89-7(U.S.)-23.

Discussion on paragraph #5, which includes zionism in a list of "isms" as impediments to the world peace process and cooperation among states, caused a great deal of confusion. The amendment adding zionism -- tabled by India on behalf of the G-77 -- was called for a vote. However, the representativ from Senegal expressed the opinion that adding the word (concept) zionism was procedural and not substantive, thus making it possible to adopt the amendment by a simple majority rather than two-thirds. The representaive of Israel contested this view, where upon the representative of the Netherlands suggested a vote be taken on whether or not the amendment was in fact procedural. Legal counsel was called and his opinion was that the amendment was substantive, however under the rules of procedure adopted by the delegates, the delegates could determine by a vote whether any matter was procedural or substantive; such a vote is a procedural matter, only a simple majority is required. For a while chaos reigned, and the representative of Sweden stated that if zionism was to be considered procedural, then he would like a vote to determine whether or not colonialism was procedural. Finally, there was some debate on whether the Program of Action as a whole was procedural in nature, not at all substantive. At this point, Ms. Ostergaard intervened as President of the Conference asking that the proceedings not turned into a theater of the absurd. Egypt called for closure of the debate. By a vote of 59-37-(U.S.)-13 the amendment was considered procedural. Paragraph #5 was adopted in its entirety, 69-24(U.S.)-25.

After a few explanations of votes on paragraphs #5, the United States called for the vote on the Program of Action as a whole. It was adopted 94-4(U.S.)-22. Immediately, the representative of Canada received the floor to explain Canada's "no" vote. She spoke movingly about Canadian women's expectations of the Conference, and their disappointment. She protested against the unnecessary and counterproductive politicization that had taken place stating, "...strong disapproval of the mockery and farce which the Conference had made of serious proposals to end women's inequality." She then pledged the continued commitment of Canada to working for the equality between women and men.

Sarah Weddington, Co-Head of the U.S. delegation, took the floor decrying the lack of real discussion of women's status and women's concerns and instead the frustration of political polemics in which women's true interest in political affairs had been ignored. Ms. Weddington concluded by saying that the United States would continue to strive for the achievement of the objectives of the Decade and in particular for the true and full equality of women throughout the world. Subsequently, many other nations took the floor to explain their votes.

The Plenary concluded at 2:35 a.m. July 31, 1980.

XI. COPENHAGEN CONFERENCE OUTCOMES

During the two and one half weeks of the Copenhagen Conference, three significant events took place. The first was the adoption of the Program of Action for the second half of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace. The second was the adoption of 48 resolutions. The third was the signing of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women by 52* UN member states.

The Program of Action was adopted in a vote of 94-4 (U.S.)-22. The document contains 287 paragraphs covering broadly the historical oppression of women, the investigation of women's status on the national level and the international level, and suggestions for future action by both national governments and international bodies.

The United States voted against the Program of Action because of three paragraphs which refer to the Middle East in ways which are antithetical to U.S. foreign policy. However, this vote does not limit or affect U.S. support of the World Plan of Action adopted in Mexico City, 1975. The U.S. still remains committed to the goals of the UN Decade for Women both nationally and internationally.

Forty-eight resolutions were passed by Conference delegates, 32 by consensus; the U.S. voted against 7 resolutions, abstained on 7 additional resolutions and expressed reservations on 2. These resolutions address issues not specifically mentioned in the Program of Action and/or give special emphasis to issues of importance to the world's women. The reasons for U.S. negative votes or abstentions are as varied as the topics of the resolutions which were considered.

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*As of December 17, 1980, 81 UN member states have signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; 8 of which have also ratified or acceded to it as well. The Convention goes into effect when 20 countries have deposited instruments of ratification or accession with the United Nations.

Resolutions Initiated by U.S. Delegation and Passed

Improving the situation of disabled women of all ages
International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade
Rural women's needs and concerns throughout the world
The situation of women refugees the world over
Elderly women and economic security
Battered women and violence in the family

Resolutions Co-Sponsored by U.S. Delegation and Passed

Co-ordination of status of women's issues within the United Nations system
Women in the United Nations Secretariat
Exploitation of the prostitution of others and traffic in persons

Resolution Sponsored by U.S. Delegation, Withdrawn because of Unfriendly Amendments: Resubmitted and Passed with Amendments--U.S. Voted Against

Women and discrimination based on race

Resolutions Co-Sponsored by U.S. Delegation and Passed

Co-ordination of status of women's issues within the United Nations system
Women in United Nations Secretariat.
Exploitation of the prosititution of others and traffic in persons

Resolution Sponsored by U.S. Delegation, Withdrawn because of Unfriendly Amendments: Resubmitted and Passed with Amendments--U.S. Voted Against

Women and discrimination based on race

One of the most historic events during the Copenhagen Conference was the signing of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. This Convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1979 and made ready for signing in early 1980. The United States expedited the prerequistes needed for signing. On July 17, 1980, Sarah Weddington, representing the President signed the Convention on behalf of the United States.

Following completion of an interagency review involving six Federal agencies, the Secretary of State transmitted the Convention to the President on October 28, 1980. On November 12, 1980, President Carter submitted the Convention to the Senate to obtain its advice and consent in accordance with the ratification procedures prescribed by the U.S. constitution.

The Convention is the most comprehensive international instrument regarding discrimination against women written to date, and stands as a clear example of the impact the UN Decade for Women has had on the United Nations system and member states.

A copy of the Convention is attached, see Tab 10.

XII. UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

Neither the Program of Action nor the resolutions adopted by Conference delegates are self-implementing. Further UN action is required. The 35th Session of the UN General Assembly began in September 1980. Discussion of the Copenhagen Conference commenced in the Economic and Social Council, the Third Committee, on October 15, 1980 upon the presentation by Lucille Mair, Conference Secretary General, of the "Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equility, Development and Peace". (See Tab 9.)

Venezuela, on behalf of the G-77, tabled a resolution entitled World Conference on the United Nations Decade for Women, (A/C. 3/35/L. 23/Rev. 1). There are eleven preambular paragraphs and eighteen operative paragraphs. The resolution endorses the Program of Action adopted in Copenhagen and calls upon all governments, regional commissions, organizations in the United Nations system, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to formulate programs for implementing the goals of the Program of Action. Furthermore, the resolution calls for the convening of a world conference in 1985 to review and appraise the achievements of the Decade.

The vote on this resolution contrasts strongly with the vote taken in Copenhagen on the Program of Action. In Copenhagen the final vote was 94-4(U.S.)-22; in New York the vote was 132-3(U.S.)-7. Canada and Israel maintained their negative votes along with the U.S.; however Australia, which originally voted "no", changed to an abstention. The following changed from abstentions to affirmative votes: Austria, Belgium, Chile, Denmark, Finland, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Sweden, Switzerland and Thailand.

The statement by Ambassador Joan Spero, United States Representative to ECOSOC, in explanation of the U.S. negative vote follows:

Mr. Chairman:

The negative vote of the United States Delegation on draft Resolution A/C. 3/35/L. 23, Rev. 1 reiterates my Government's concern, disappointment and strenuous objections expressed at the Copenhagen Conference. We continue to object to the language in Paragraph 5 of Part I of the Program of Action and in the Declaration of

Mexico City which groups zionism with other terms of opprobrium such as racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Also, while the United States sympathizes with and consistently has contributed to humanitarian assistance for Palestinian refugees, we cannot accept the concept that assistance be provided in consultation with the Palestinian Liberation Organization as stated in Paragraph 244 of the Copenhagen Program. My Delegation has therefore voted with a heavy heart against draft Resolution L. 23, Rev. 1, because it endorses and reaffirms documents containing these positions.

My Delegation nevertheless wishes to assure the international community of women, that the United States will be unstinting in its support and participation in national and international endeavors aimed at fulfilling the solemn promises enshrined in the objectives of the World Plan of Action adopted by consensus, at the Mexico Conference in 1975.

We will continue to associate ourselves with Part II of the Program of Action at the national level, which was adopted by consensus at Copenhagen.

Likewise, we will continue our support and cooperation at the international level, as symbolized by our signing of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; our support for the International Research and Training Institute; and our contributions to the success of the Voluntary Fund for the Decade.

As my Delegation stated earlier during the Committee's debate on Items 80 and 83, the United States will continue to take full part in the struggle of women to achieve full equality. American women, those who are dedicated feminists, along with their sympathetic male counterparts will stand shoulder to shoulder in this great and necessary effort to achieve true and meaningful human rights for all humanity on the basis of equality for the long-neglected female half of the world's population. We will continue to feel as identified with the welfare of the female half of the world, as we do with the welfare of our own homes and our own nation."

For the statement of Koryne K. Horbal, United States Representative to the UN Commission on the Status of Women during the debate on the Copenhagen Conference, see Tab 11.

XIII. POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE COPENHAGEN CONFERENCE

The World Conference of the UN Decade for Women did not take place in a vacuum. The Islamic Summit convened one week before the Copenhagen Conference and the points of view and mood of that meeting were surely present in Copenhagen. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) completed its meetings in early July, having reaffirmed Arab-African alliances and mutual support. The UN Special Session discussing Palestinian Rights met in New York during the second week of the Women's Conference. The result of that vote--critical of Israel for its West Bank settlements, a vote viewed as a victory by the Palestinian Liberation Organization--was instantly telegraphed to Copenhagen. Moreover, nations were looking forward to the 11th Special Session on the New International Development Strategy, held in New York, August/September 1980, in preparation for the upcoming global negotiations--a North-South discussion on economic realignments and readjustments. Furthermore, certain political situations in the world--El Salvador, the Bolivian coup which took place during the Conference, and the Middle East--all contributed to increased political tensions. Finally, the continuing hostage situation in Iran, although not discussed publically, increased the feeling of isolation and vulnerability for the U.S. delegation. These meetings and events combined with ongoing global tensions significantly affected the discussions at Copenhagen, particularly regarding the politically contentious agenda items.

There have been strong allegations, by many, that the Copenhagen Conference was politicized. The Conference was a government-to-government meeting. The delegates, representing their government's policies and positions, inevitably were forced to make political decisions. Women's issues are political issues, because it is a political decision when one decides who eats, who goes to school, who goes to the doctor, who gets what, when and how. The U.S. delegation understood this and furthermore, the U.S. delegation felt strongly that women must be allowed to discuss all the issues, not just those that fit easily into the women's issue mold. However, the U.S. delegation also understood that politicization is more than discussing political issues in a political context. It is invidious and unconscionable, particularly in the case of the feminist movement, when the structures of power that suppress women, use and exploit the women's cause to assure that these structures do not change.

The United States' position on the Middle East and NIEO differs significantly with the positions of the G-77 on these same issues. Although the NIEO language incorporated into the Program of Action was ultimately acceptable to the U.S. (see Section XIV. E. of this report), the language on the Middle East was not (see Section XIV. C. of this report). The United States faced overwhelming odds at the outset of the Conference; and although there was at times a spirit of compromise, it became apparent that the issues considered most important by the G-77 would be moved forward during the Copenhagen Conference. Simply stated, the alliances within the G-77 voting block remained strong throughout the World Conference.

XIV. CONFERENCE THEMES

Throughout the preparations for the Copenhagen Conference and during the actual event, certain themes consistently were discussed. They are: Equality, Development and Peace; Health, Education and Employment; the Middle East, Race, Apartheid and Discrimination based on Race; the New International Economic Order (NIEO); and Feminism.

A. Equality, Development and Peace:

During the IWY Conference, Mexico City, 1975, it was decided that three major themes or goals should be designated as areas of concentration during the UN Decade for Women. These are: Equality, Development and Peace.

Equality, Development and Peace were accepted as the themes and goals of the UN Decade for Women by consensus. These goals remain viable today, regardless of the outcome of the Copenhagen Conference. During discussions in Copenhagen, it became obvious that while women do not disagree as to the importance of the three themes, there is a difference of opinion on priorities.

The conventional wisdom regarding the specific identification of these three themes is that Equality is a priority of the Western countries, Development a priority of the developing countries, and Peace a priority of the Eastern European countries.

At the first meeting of the Preparatory Committee, the Egyptian delegate recommended that everytime the UN Decade for Women was cited it should be followed by Equality, Development and Peace. This recommendation was accepted.

The Program of Action as adopted by the Copenhagen delegates reflects the importance accorded these three themes. Many of the paragraphs call for women's active participation in all three areas and cite specific examples of how to achieve both the participation and the ultimate goals.

B. Health, Education and Employment:

In order to better assess women's progress during the first five years of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, the delegate from India at the first meeting of the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) recommended that a specific subtheme for the Copenhagen Conference be designated. It was agreed by the PrepCom and later endorsed by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) that the subtheme be Health, Education and Employment.

Each nation was requested to present a national paper for distribution to all delegations on these three areas. (See Tab 2 of this report for U.S. Paper.) In addition, the Program of Action, particularly in Part II and Part III, examines each subtheme area with great specificity. A topic list follows which cites those issues within the subtheme areas which are specifically mentioned in the Program of Action.

Health

--better primary health care
--accessible maternal and child health care
--family planning
--more research on women's health needs
--more women as health practitioners
--more data on women and health
--safe drinking water
--more information on nutrition and food preservation
--more health education
--the special health care needs of elderly women, teen women
--identification of the problem of family violence
--recognition of the problems of alcohol and drug abuse and their affect on women's health

Education

--equal access to all levels of education
--abolition of sex role stereotyping in education
--the links between school and work in the paid labor force
--women's access into the fields of science and technology
--increased girls' and women's literacy
--encouragment of women to return to school
--more women in education administration
--improved data base on women and education
--more women's studies programs
--approach education as a life-long process

Employment

- --equal pay for work of comparable value
- --childcare
- --occupational segregation
- --rural women in agriculture
- --more women in management positions
- --more jobs training, including non-traditional job training
- --knowledge of women workers' legal rights
- --women in policy planning positions
- --identification of sexual harrassment on the job
- --pregnancy disability
- --occupational safety and health
- --recognition of women's unpaid labor in the home
- --development of infrastructures, housing, safe water, etc.
- --part-time and flex-time work schedules
- --recognition of women's dual role, double burden

The above listed issues are dealt with in the Program of Action in various ways. Some are merely recognized as obstacles to women's achievement of full equality, while others are identified and discussed with specific suggestions for overcoming them. Finally, some are listed as special priorities for women.

C. THE MIDDLE EAST:

The Middle East was by far the most contentious issue discussed in Copenhagen. Even when delegates were discussing other agenda items, the mood of the Conference was affected by the expectation of what would happen when issues of the Middle East came up. Furthermore, the Middle East issues were those that finally became the determining factor for the United States vote on the Program of Action.

Beginning during the PrepCom meetings with the introduction of agenda item, "the Effects of Israeli Occupation on Palestinian Women both within and outside the Occupied Territories", continuing with the submission of the Economic Commission for Western Asia document, A/CONF 94/21, and following through with the introduction, on behalf of the G-77, of certain amendments concerning the PLO, zionism and repudiation of the Camp David accords, the Middle East was always present.

In the final hours of the Conference, two paragraphs, #2 and #5, were still unsettled; both concerned the Middle East. In paragraph #2, the Declaration of Mexico and the Conference of Non-Aligned and Developing Countries on the Role of Women in Development, Baghdad, 1979, were cited. In the former, zionism is equated with racism and in the later, the Camp David accords are repudiated. In paragraph #5, zionism is cited along with imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, hegemonism and foreign domination, occupation, domination and oppression as an impediment to world peace and cooperation among states.

The third paragraph that includes a reference to the Middle East is paragraph #244, which states that UN bodies and specialized agencies that provide assistance to Palestinian women who live in the occupied territories should render that assistance in coordination and cooperation with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people.

All three of these references are antithetical to U.S. Middle East foreign policy. Thus, the United States voted against the Program of Action.

The attention given to the Middle East conflict was exacerbated by two further developments. The first was the outcome of the Special Session on Palestinian Rights being held simultaneously at the UN in New York -- the outcome positive to the PLO. The second was the large PLO observer delegation supplemented by non-accredited PLO sympatheziers. While the former was definitely a morale booster for PLO observers, the latter tended to increase the visibility of those concerned solely with the Middle East.

D. DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RACE:

There are few words to describe the high drama and political will exerted by the U.S. delegation, other UN member nations and U.S. representatives to the NGO Forum on behalf of the resolution "Women and Discrimination Based on Race."

From the polemics surrounding its original submission, the critical Third-World alliances and lobbying efforts, to the dichotomies of the vote--the closest of the Conference--the issue was a contentiously political item.

Initially, ninety Black U.S. women began to caucus with the single, specific purpose of altering the Conference's consideration of racial discrimination from solely apartheid to the broader concept of racism/sexism when discussing the roots of the oppression of women. Several days into the Conference these women held a press conference announcing that U.S. women of color had submitted on July 19th a historic document* to the U.S. Delegation calling upon the U.S. Delegation to introduce a resolution on the "elimination of all forms of institutional and individual racist practices which are obstacles to implementing the goals of the UN Decade for Women." Concurrently unanimous support of this concept was advanced by a coalition of Black, Hispanic, Native and Asian American representatives of the U.S. delegation.

Though the U.S. had recently avoided any involvement in the United Nations on the issue of racism because of the certain link with zionism, the U.S. delegation agreed to table the resolution.

From the caucus text, the U.S. Delegation proposed a shorter version and cleared it with the State Department. The U.S. Government accepted the position that while race related issues are usually discussed in the context of southern Africa and apartheid, the Copenhagen discussions needed to be broadened to focus on discrimination based on race as a problem for two-thirds of the women of the world--women of color.

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*Accompanied by over 100 signatures representing a wide diversity of U.S. Non-Governmental organizations.

The U.S. sponsored resolution on Women and Discrimination Based on Race underscored the fact that race and sex discrimination impose a double burden on minority women throughout the world. The resolution discussed discrimination based on race as a problem existing both in the developed and developing nations.

Furthermore, the resolution stated that since discrimination based on race is a worldwide phenomenon, it merits singular consideration. The U.S. Government realized that tabling such a resolution would leave the United States vulnerable to unfriendly amendments attaching zionism, making a racism/zionism equation. The U.S. delegation struggled with the mounting tension as they sorted out the most strategic maneuvers by which to table the resolution. However, it was the unanimous view of the U.S. delegation that it was better to table such a resolution and bear the consequences of withdrawing it or casting a negative vote rather than to ignore a major problem facing women of color.

In tabling the Resolution, Alexis Herman, U.S. Delegation Co-Chair -- Committee I, made an eloquent and compassionate appeal to member nations to abstain from amending the resolution in ways that would change its original meaning -- a global resolution that spoke to the issue of racial discrimination in both developed and developing countries. Given the virtual impossibility of avoiding consponsors or amendments, Ms. Herman, time and again, employed skillful parlimentary maneuvers to avoid amendments.

There was initially, a groundswell of support for the U.S. sponsored resolution partially the result of skillful lobbying by the U.S. delegation and the affinity that developed between the Third World Women and the U.S. women of color. This momentum, however, was broken by an abrupt change of the Committee's Presiding Officer from Madame Kane of Senegal, who had worked well and with some impartiality, to Madame Groza, a vice-chair from Romania who definitely ruled in favor of the Eastern European Bloc and their allies among the Third World delegates. The debate thus went into overtime and was continued to the next session.

At that time, the UN sponsored resolution was amended by Syria which added language denouncing racist regimes; Egypt which added language on sexism; the German Democratic Republic which added a reference to the Declaration of Mexico of 1975 and claimed that the World Plan of Action adequately discussed women of color; and

Cuba which referred to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, a Convention to which the U.S. in a signatory, but has not yet ratified. The U.S. Delegation was able to support the Cuban Amendment -- the others, however were indefensible.

Before a vote was called on the above amendments the United States--with Dorothy Height holding the U.S. chair, speaking passionately of the universal dream--was forced to withdraw its sponsorship of the resolution rather than see it amended as described above.

The withdrawal threw Committee I into turmoil as delegates of other member nations realized that a resolution on racism was being withdrawn from the floor as they stood by helpless to prevent it. There was an outcry! Under rule 27 of the rules of procedure the delegation of Angola then reintroduced the former U.S. resolution with all its previously proposed amendments. The U.S. then orally introduced a fifth amendment to the draft resolution calling for the deletion of the first four amendments thus reversing the resolution to its original U.S. form. In the ensuing confusion there was a call to adjourn and then a call to reassemble within two hours. Neither call was translated as the debate had again gone into overtime and the translators retired. The resulting high absenteeism worked against the U.S. In the evening meeting, the U.S. amendment was put to the vote and lost 43 to 45. Upon a Committee I revote of the resolution as amended by Angola the resolution carried by a comfortable margin of victory.

Significance

The vote on the U.S. amendment indicated that strong lobbying could affect results. The U.S. delegation had been actively contacting and working with African delegations so that African representatives would understand the nature of the resolution and the importance of its being adopted without amendments.

The narrowly divided vote, the closest of the Conference, also indicated that on some matters of principle women were willing to deviate from stated government positions and traditional voting blocks. Finally, the resolution was precedent-setting; it was the first time U.S. has ever tabled a resolution on racial discrimination. Since much of the original language was retained in the Angola-sponsored resolution--(discrimination based on race coupled with discrimination based on sex imposes a double burden on two-thirds of the women of the world)--at least the concept is now documented in the UN annals of the Women's Conference. The U.S. delegation hopes that in five years the U.S. Government will reintroduce a similar resolution and that is will carry.

B. NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER:

Continually at the Conference issues of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) were raised. These included the inequitable distribution of resources, inadequate credit and credit restrictions, the influence of transnational and national corporations, the prices of commodity goods, development and export industries, and and land ownership, both industrial and agricultural. Because there is a difference of opinion on the methods and procedures for readjusting the world economic order, such discussions reinforced tensions between developed and developing countries. For example, many developing countries maintain that social rights, human rights and women's rights cannot proceed until these crucial economic problem are solved.

The United States and other developed countries believe that more equitable economic development and advancement in women's rights can and must proceed together. Otherwise too many women will be forced to remian victims both of discrimination and poverty until all the economic ills of the world are solved.

The Program of Action includes many references to the world economic order sometimes referring to it as unjust, at other times referring to it as a crisis. There can be no doubt that developing countries place high importance on changing the situation. Particularly in Part I of the Program, statements concerning NIEO are both prevelant and specific.

Women throughout the world, both in developed and developing countries, suffer greater economic hardship. They earn less; receive lower employment related benefits; and tend to be last hired-first fired. They do not own land nor do they control the means of production. Rarely do they have any bargaining power, and in periods of extensive economic downturns, women usually are forced to work outside the home for sub-standard wages under poor working conditions.

Women in development specialist have long advocated integrating women into development planning models. Statistics now exists which highlight both the positive and the negative affects of the transfer of technology on women. Without this integration, women in developing countries and to a lesser extent women in developed countries will remain victims of economic manipulation, regardless of any alterations in world economic relations.

Therefore, NIEO issues pose a paradox for women. Certainly it is important to adjust economic systems throughout the world to insure equitable treatment for all. And, while it is true that a country's healthy economic climate would ultimately better the quality of life for women and children -- what is sometimes referred to as the "trickle down effect" -- the proportinate distribution of wealth may very well remain the same; women faring worse than men.

The situation of western women clearly demonstates this possibility, as it is their reality in developed countries.

Governments differ in their approach to NIEO issues and settling these differences is the task of the International Development Strategy. If women are to really benefit from changes in the world economic system, they must be active participants in all discussions and equal partners in all programs, otherwise women's situation will not change. Finally, the Copenhagen Conference clearly demonstrated an important dicotomy among the world's women. It has long been understood that western women are motivated by quality of life issues and women from developing countries are most concerned with purvival issues. Whereas legal rights through active enforcement of existing laws is a priority for western women, securing potable drinking water is a priority for women in developing countries. This point was clearly illustrated by the Brazilian delegate participating in the informal Committee of the Whole discussions when he stated in response to a comment by a western delegate on unemployment benefits, and unemployment displacement and I must paraphrase, "when women in your (developed) country lose their jobs, they receive economic benefits, perhaps insufficient, but nevertheless, they receive some help; women who lose their jobs in my dountry die." This difference in priorities coupled with a perception that all western women are better off, and in certain instances they most assuredly are, make it even more difficult for western women to negatively challenge NIEO concepts.

The importance placed on this issue by developing countreis and resistance to NIEO demands from the west perpetuates global tensions. For women, the problem is similar. While western women object to some NIEO demands because they do not see their achievement positively affecting women's status in society; women in developing countries cannot but distrust their motives, they see western women as linked to those perceived as perpetuating the economic injustice.

This situation is not easily resolved. It highlights the choice between a national agenda and a feminist agenda which may be mutually exclusive. But resolution may come from continued interaction between western women and women in developing countires, probably through informal or non-governmental efforts. Only through understanding achieved through this interaction will the dilemma be resolved.

F. FEMINISM:

Feminism could hardly be described as a major theme of the 1980 World Conference for Women, even in the most optimistic analysis. It was a mere whisper in the din of political concerns that dominated the conference, but the voice of feminism, frustrated though it was, was clearly present in Copenhagen, haunting the proceedings, looking for opportunities to assert itself in a system and in a political situation developed, orchestrated, and maintained almost entirely by men.

The draft Program of Action presented some of the best opportunities for incorporating feminist language and principles into the UN system, even though most of the conference time focused on problems not related specifically to women. New Zealand led the charge to include in the long laundry list of political accusations and complaints about the root causes of women's problems, the idea that those problems might in some ways be related to the fact that women have been exploited, oppressed, and dominated by men for thousands of years, and the idea that women's subjugation is based to a large degree on their reproductive function. Those tentative ideas, in carefully worded and modified form, were finally accepted after three weeks of heated debate. See paragraph #13 of the Program.

Australia initiated the move to include the word "sexism" in the conference documents, and this caused great controversy. A number of nations insisted that there was no such thing in their countries; the Soviets claimed that no such word existed in Russian. Similar arguments were advanced in 1975 at the IWY Conference. The final resolution was to include a footnote after the sentence which reads: "The unfavorable status of women is aggravated in many countries, developed and underdeveloped, by de facto discrimination on the grounds of sex." The footnote reads: "Which in a group of countries is called sexism." (See paragraph #12 of the Program of Action.)

There is an increasing controversy among western feminists as to the appropriateness of the word sexism to define the systematic oppression of and discrimination against women. A new phrase, "male supremacy" is currently being advanced as a more specific definition of the situation. While this debate ensues, it must be noted that the word sexism was used to define the invidious and irrational systematic oppression of and discrimination against women and not to define particular phenomena related specifically to biological gender based functions.

Even with sexism only a footnote, the Program of Action and the resolutions passed in Copenhagen bear a distinct feminist stamp. The specific goals and recommendations for better education, employment, and health go far beyond anything ever discussed for women, by women, on an international level. The real question is whether women have the power to gain a full commitment from the UN and its member nations to make those promising words reality.

Feminism might not have played a big public role in Copenhagen, but in the discussions and thoughts of women who were responsible for representing the official policies of their countries, feminism sometimes produced a great deal of private conflict. Women who had committed years of their lives to working for the rights of women, pushing for reforms of government and institutions and cultural biases against women, sometimes felt they were being forced to choose between upholding their official responsibilities, and pursuing the goals of women all over the world. There were dedicated and desperate attempts to keep that choice from having to be made.

Feminism was not yet powerful enough in the world's political systems to overcome the politicization that pushed aside the real, everyday, survival issues for women in 1980 in favor of purely political goals. Women felt caught: having worked long and hard to be a significant part of a political system, to change it, to use it for women, only to be trapped by the system and allegiance to it. There was never a question that the U.S. delegation accepted its responsibility; there was sadness and frustration that women could not yet change the systems enough to meet both the needs of women and the demands of the world's politics.

XV. THE MID-DECADE FORUM, INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF WOMEN ARTISTS AND U.S. NGO MEETINGS:

The Mid-Decade Forum was held in Copenhagen, July 14-25, 1980. This alternative conference provided over 8,000 individuals an opportunity to meet and discuss a wide-range of women's concerns outside the confines of an official government-to-government setting, The Forum was planned by a committee whose members represented international Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) with consultative status. It offered participants over 1,100 workshop choices and produced Forum 80, a daily newspaper containing reports and articles on UN proceedings, Forum activities and events sponsored by the International Festival of Women Artists. Forum 80, considered by many to be the most important Conference document, continued to be published throughout the official conference even though the Forum ended five days earlier.

The practice of holding an NGO event concurrently with official government conferences, is long-standing within the United Nations system. During the International Women's Year Conference, Mexico City, 1975, a similar event--the Tribune--was held. Other such meetings have been held during World Conferences on different topics. Although the conferences have no formal relationship, the scheduling of the two meetings ultimately enhances both gatherings to produce a much richer view of a particular situation and brings together more individuals from diverse backgrounds.

Forum activities were held at three locations some distance from the Bella Center: the Amager University Center, the Police College and the Library School. The Forum had registrants from 127 countries, 830 persons from North America. While participation at the UN Conference was restricted to official delegates selected by their governments, the Forum was open to anyone who registered, attendance was free, and persons interested in giving a workshop were invited to do so. Workshops were offered on health, employment, education, peace, child care, rural women and development, international feminist networking, global overpopulation problems, and a host of other matters of special interest to women.

Simultaneously, the first International Festival of Women Artists was held in Copenhagen. Among the activities offered were exhibits, literary readings, theatrical performances, and film shows. The center for these events was the Carlsberg Glyptotek (Museum); however, some were held outside or at other locations throughout the city.

The United States Government has long understood and encouraged the active participation of NGO's in the policy-making process. From its inception, the U.S. Secretariat worked diligently to establish open communications between the Department of State and women's organizations. The purpose: to establish a dialogue between NGO leaders and representatives; to achieve mutual understanding of the goals and initiatives to be taken by the U.S.government at the UN Conference; to provide an opportunity to express divergent views on various issues and Conference agenda items; and to develop a climate of cooperation among NGO's, the U.S. Secretariat and the U.S. delegation to encourage support for U.S. policies and programs.

Beginning with the national outreach program (see Section V. B. 1 of this report) and continuing in Copenhagen, the U.S. Secretariat worked closely with many interested representatives of U.S. women's organizations. On nine separate occasions, during the Copenhagen Conference, the U.S. delegation met with American women attending the Forum and the official conference as accredited NGO's. More than 400 American women attended.

At these meetings, held in the early evenings, participants were briefed by various members of the U.S. delegation, including Heads of Delegation Ambassador Donald McHenry and Sarah Weddington and Congresswomen Barbara Mikulski and Mary Rose Oakar, concerning developments and proceedings taking place at the official conference. Furthermore, time was provided for an active exchange of ideas on various issues, questions and answers, and suggestions for certain initiatives which the U.S. delegation might sponsor. In addition, these special meetings provided an occasion for American women to share their thoughts, assessments, frustrations and opinions about the events taking place around them and strategize for future action.

The positive communication between the NGO's and the U.S. delegation set a new precedent for the Department of State. After experiencing a difficult, and sometimes tense situation at Mexico City during the IWY Conference, a concerted effort was made to ensure space and time for regular meetings in Copenhagen. These meetings stand as a clear example of the Department of State's continued commitment to include many constitutencies in the foreign policy decision-making process.

XVI. COMMUNICATIONS AND PRESS RELATIONS

The Media: Before Copenhagen

Following the establishment of the U.S. Secretariat for the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, 1980, press releases and other communications were distributed to the media about this major international meeting for women and information was made available with respect to plans for U.S. participation by the Office of the U.S. Secretariat. Measured by coverage, interest was minimal. U.S. preparations for and participation in a conference on women, even one international in scope, apparently was not considered newsworthy by most editors. With few exceptions, press reports were limited largely to specialized women's publications, organization newsletters, a few radio talk shows addressing a largely female audience, and very rarely time on TV.

For the most part, the exceptions were generated by the "Outreach" effort of the U.S. Secretariat, see Section V. B. 1 of this report. Advance press information about the conferences in each instance was distributed to press on a regional as well as a local basis. Media, electronic as well as print, provided excellent coverage. The communications at these meetings was enlarged by the press coverage with the result that a growing network of communications sparking public interest in the Conference began to develop. Members of the U.S. Secretariat were invited to address organizational meetings and conferences; and these events received local press attention. But getting press attention to inform the general public about the World Conference was a continuing uphill struggle.

The Media: At Copenhagen

At the UN press office at the Bella Center in Copenhagen where the World Conference for Women was held, 1,264 journalists were accredited to cover the proceedings. Of this number, about one-third were from the United States. Arrangements were made by the U.S. delegation press officer to have daily press briefings in a room in the press operations section of the Bella Center. In addition, a U.S. press office was set up at the Hotel Scandinavia, where the U.S. delegation was housed, for special press meetings and interviews with members of the delegation.

Prior to the formal opening of the Conference, the UN press office arranged a two-day pre-conference briefing for the media entitled "Encounter for Journalists." At the briefings, speakers talked about subjects on the agenda such as Palestinian women, women as refugees, and other controversial topics. Their presentations markedly were limited to one point of view. For example, the Encounter speaker on Palestinian women was pro-PLO, anti-Israel and anti-United States. When reporters attending the Encounter questioned this one-sided presentation, they were informed that the selection of speakers was determined by the Conference Secretariat's office. The Encounter briefings were attended by more than 100 journalists from both electronic and print media and by press officers from various delegations.

Despite the large number of journalists from the United States covering the Conference, news of the World meeting was relatively meager in the United States and, indeed, worldwide. The exceptions were reports on "incidents" such as the walkout of Arab and Soviet bloc countries led by PLO observers during Mrs. Jihan Sadat's presentation to the Plenary Session of Egypt's national speech; the protest by Bolivian women of the coup and overthrow of their president, a woman, and the subsequent rough treatment the protesters experienced at the hands of the police at the Bella Center; the peace march of women from the northern European countries; and the unsuccessful attempt by exiled Soviet feminist Natalia Malakoyskaya to address the Conference. These incidents all were reported worldwide while the substantive work of the Conference generally was given little attention with the exception of the Danish press and reports that appeared daily in the San Francisco Examiner and The New York Times.

The members of the U.S. press covering the Conference reflected the diversity of the U.S. population and the particular interests and concerns of the nation on women's issues. The broad spectrum of such issues and concerns were represented by such specialized publications as Spokewoman Magazine, New Directions for Women, Black Enterprise Magazine, Afro-American Newspaper, the Niagara Gazette, Good Housekeeping, Rural Women, and the New Republic. There also were reporters from Time, Newsweek, the New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor, the San Francisco Examiner, People Magazine, ABC, NBC, CBS radio and television, Associated Press and United Press International, and Public Broadcasting.

Interviews were arranged with Sarah Weddington, co-chair of the U.S. delegation and with other delegates, all of whom were responsive to questions from the media. As a result, while the politics of the Conference were criticized by the U.S. press, the U.S. delegation had good press, a response to the openness and unity the delegates reflected individually and collectively with respect to U.S. policy and objectives.

Since funding was not available for a newsclipping service, it is impossible to provide a full accounting of the coverage nationally or internationally. However, with respect to U.S. reporters, it was learned that though many covering the Conference sent daily copy to editors and/or audiotape reports to radio stations, their material was used infrequently with few exceptions. The San Francisco Examiner and the New York Times carried daily articles on the Conference; and Cox Broadcasting provided extensive coverage. There also was comprehensive coverage by Voice of America and by the International Communication Agency (ICA) for foreign distribution. Forum 80, a tabloid size publication put out daily by the Mid-Decade Forum, was distributed at the Bella Center and other gathering places in Copenhagen without cost and was read largely by the members of the delegations to the Conference and the NGO's attending the Forum. It is an important resource for future writers, analysts and historians who will assess the 1980 Mid-Decade Conference for Women. (Copies of Forum 80 are attached, Tab 12.)

Press information on the Copenhagen Conference at the Department of State, Washington, D. C., was handled by a U.S. Secretariat press officer. A report of each days events as well as political issues that might prompt questions from the media stateside was transmitted daily from Copenhagen via cable. The press officer was well prepared to respond to any queries about the Conference; but there were none. In fact, during the entire time of the Copenhagen meeting, not one reporter at the regular daily State Department noon press briefings asked about the World Conference.

In part, this may be explained by several newsworthy events that occurred during the Conference (July 14-30, 1980). These included, the return to the United States of the ailing U.S. hostage released by the Iranians, the Republican National Convention, the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Palestinian Rights, and the Bolivian coup. But it also appears clear that women's news is given low priority by most of the daily press, both print and electronic.

Yet there were U.S. actions taken and positions presented which did receive press attention, especially the signing of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women by Presidential Assistant Sarah Weddington, co-chair of the U.S. delegation, July 17, 1980. There was substantial press, both national and international, when Weddington addressed the Plenary Session for the first time on behalf of the United States. Her remarks at the end of the Conference delineating the U.S. position on the Program of Action also were highlighted in the press.

The Media: Historic Developments in Communications at Copenhagen

The worldwide Mid-Decade meeting on women was the spur to a history-making event in communications. It was the first international teleconferences via satellite by women, for women and to women, an effort known as Dateline Copenhagen: Women's View.

The proposal for the teleconferences orginated with the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press (WIFP) in 1979. Shortly after the U.S. Secretariat was established, the office was approached by WIFP for assistance in an effort to make the idea a reality. Beginning early in 1980, a series of meetings were arranged by the press officer of the U.S. Secretariat with WIFP, members of the media, members of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), representatives from the International Communications Agency (ICA), and several specialists in the communications field. As a result of these working meetings held in the Department of State, the proposal for the teleconferences gained support. It ultimately was judged practicable and desirable; WIFP received a grant from ICA, the Communications Satellite Corporation (COMSAT), and the AFL-CIO Communications Workers of America. There was a donation of legal time and advice from a communications specialist from the law firm of Hogan and Hartson, the services of top broadcasting personnel from Cox Broadcasting, as well as active cooperation from the Danish Embassy's press counselor in Washington, D. C.

On July 21, 1980, one week after the Copenhagen Conference opened officially, an international teleconference between women in Copenhagen and women in the United States was conducted via satellite. Women in Minneapolis, Houston and Los Angeles conferred for two hours directly with six women in Copenhagen, among them delegates to the UN Conference and the Forum, and discussed concerns of health, education and employment. A second two-hour exchange took place on July 28 with another representative group of women from Copenhagen and women in Boston, Atlanta and Washington, D. C.

The women in the United States who participated in the teleconferences were reached by the Continuing Committee of the National Women's Conference. In an effort to increase the potential of the event, workshops were organized by the Continuing Committee for both before and after the teleconferences. The workshops were planned to assess the achievements of women worldwide in meeting the goals of the IWY Conference, Mexico City, 1975. In addition the agenda of the 1980 meeting was discussed.

An example of the stateside action was revealed by the Continuing Committee coordinator in Los Angeles. She reported that in less than 20 days more than 60 organizations were reached and 100 women crowded into the studio there for the dialogue via satellite. Following, there were requests by individuals and organizations for copies of the videotapes for use at future meetings of various groups. Dateline Copenhagen expanded communications among women's organizations and this expansion is bound to impact on future actions for women and women's concerns both on the national and international level. The dialogue provided a better understanding of and appreciation for the issues and obstacles at the UN world meeting, and thus achieved the major objective of the project.

The Media: After Copenhagen

Paradoxically, media interest and attention has intensified since the Conference ended. Requests for information, as well as photographs and interviews with delegates are increasing and continuing. Organizations have invited delegates to address their members at large meetings throughout the United States into 1981. Virtually every delegate without exception has been interviewed; and local press has reported upon each interview in depth.

In September 1980, WGHB, Boston PBS-TV, reported on the Copenhagen Conference for one-half hour. Audience response was tremendous with requests from viewers around the nation for copies of the WGBH video-tape report.

Other TV talk shows in October and November 1980 have asked for segements of the Dateline Copenhagen teleconferences to be used in conjunction with interviews of persons who attended the UN and Forum meetings in Copenhagen; and the WIFP now is preparing such segments for use both by +V producers and various organizations. There are TV programs on the Copenhagen Conference that were shown in November and December 1980.

Special publications here and in Canada are reporting on the Mid-Decade meeting; and even in the daily press, the interest continues. For example, as a result of reader interest in daily articles in the San Francisco Examiner on the Conference during the deliberations in Copenhagen, the editor of the Examiner announced the articles would be compiled in a separate printing that would be made available to anyone requesting the compilation without charge except for postage.

Even without the advantage of a clipping service, from copies of news articles received by the press officer of the U.S. Secretariat, it is apparent that interest in the Conference continues and activities and concerns are newsworthy.

XVII. CONCLUSIONS

The World Conference of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace was a difficult meeting for the United States. The Conference agenda included politically contentious items which have been discussed in other UN fora and international meetings, and as yet have not been resolved. The actual time of the Conference added to tension levels, primarily due the the simutaneous UN Special Session on Palestinian Rights and the upcoming International Development Strategy discussions. In addition, other world crises and tensions served to heighten the mood of the Conference.

The World Conference sparked a great deal of interest among women's organizations and feminist activists in the United States. American women saw this conference as an opportunity to draw further attention to the struggle against sexism and discrimination based on sex and to move forward with more progressive changes. The Conference was perceived as a catalyst for change and was initially viewed with enthusiasm.

As it became increasingly obvious that political world tensions would impinge upon the discussions in Copenhagen, American women became more concerned about U.S. positions and policies as well as their delegate representatives. Divergent views were expressed at the regional conferences held in preparation for U.S. participation concerning the U.S. role at the Conference regarding both leadership and substantive positions.

In its preparation process, the U.S. Secretariat continually explained the meaning of a government-to-government conference, i.e., that delegates are instructed and, when speaking officially, must reflect official U.S. government positions and policies. Unfortunately, there were instances when U.S. policies ran contrary to what some American women wanted the delegation to say; and when this happened, resentment and frustration grew.

Before going to Copenhagen, the U.S. delegation understood that if certain unfriendly amendments were included in the final Program of Action, the U.S. would vote against the document. However, the mood of the delegation during the early days of the Conference was positive, and the delegates were hopeful that this situation would not arise. Various strategies were implemented in an attempt to keep out the amendments that could force a U.S. no vote.

Initially, Denmark strongly opposed any Declaration such as the Declaration of Mexico, which could have been the vehicle for including those ideas that are antithetical to U.S. and Western policies. Later, Denmark changed this position; however, by then it was too late--as the G-77 had the votes to incorporate these ideas into paragraphs within the Program of Action.

Parlimentary procedures were used to keep the Conference working by consensus; however, the vote on paragraphs #183 of the draft--#244 in the final Program--broke the consensus and there were no real attempts to bring the Conference back to this system.

The rules of procedure were used, or misused, by G-77 Conference officers and officials to ensure their hoped for outcomes. Several blatant instances of gross violations occured during the course of the Conference; particularly in the First Committee's discussion of the resolution on Women and Discrimination Based on Race; in the Second Committee's discussion of paragraph #183; and in the final Plenary Session during the discussion of paragraph #5, the zionism amendment.

This situation caused a great deal of tension and confusion and is a matter of continuing concern to the United States. No formal protest was lodged against the Conference Secretariat, however, the United States did refer to the situation in various speeches given during the 35th UN General Assembly Session.

U.S. women delegates certainly experienced conflicting emotions throughout the Conference. On the one hand, they had worked diligently to be in the position of representing their government at an important international meeting, on the other, they were strongly committed to advancing the goals of the Women's Movement, both nationally and internationally. At times, it was impossible to do both.

For many American women, Copenhagen was their first exposure to a forum where anti-American sentiment was openly expressed. Although on a personal level delegates and observers interacted in a spirit of friendship and sisterhood, during formal presentations and discussions many statements critical of the U.S. were made.

The problem was exacerbated by the naivete of some U.S. women, particularly those attending the Mid-Decade Forum, regarding world economic relations. While there was a cetrain sophistication concerning Middle East and southern Africa issues, the New International Economic Order presented many questions. Women were unprepared for the vehement importance placed upon these issues by developing countries and were not well versed in the role the United States--both public and private sectors--plays in the allocation of resources and the transfer of technology internationally.

Finally, for American women there was a sense that a special opportunity was being sacrificed for other concerns. The World Conference of the UN Decade for Women presented the unique chance for the world's women to meet and discuss both women's issues and other important international issues from a woman's perspective; a time to find mutual areas of understanding on common problems. Because some of the national agendas were not compatible with the western perceived women's agenda, and because many discussions and debates at the Conference focused more specifically on international issues, regardless of women, the event became even more frustrating.

Aside from international perceptions of what is and is not a discussable issue in the Women's Conference forum, there is certainly reason to criticize particular delegations for unduly politicizing the Conference. Because the Conference was a government-to-government meeting, it was difficult to determine when women were actually representing the views of the women in their country and when they were representing views of their government, policies determined by men without the inclusion of women. However, it was relatively easy to make this determination when men held their country's chair and openly scoffed at women's attempts to include feminist language or issues into the Program. As stated previously, invidious politicization occurs when the structures of power that oppress women, use and exploit the women's cause to assure that these structures do not change. There can be no question but that at certain times the Women's Conference was manipulated by those who had different agendas not compatible with feminist goals.

Because women suffer de facto and de jure sex discrimination and because women are traditionally not fully represented in large numbers in any national government, it is impossible to say whether the Program of Action reflects the agenda of the world's women. When reviewing the Program of Action and the resolutions, one finds many instances of feminist language. Any intergovernmental forum such as the UN will always be the scene of political discussions and to expect otherwise, is both foolhardy and unrealistic. But, the issue most central to the Copenhagen Conference is not whether or not politics are discussed or whether or not the Conference was politicized; rather the Copenhagen experience pointed to the glaring exclusion of women from high level positions of foreign policy decision-making.

In the United States women have historically been excluded from the foreign policy decision-making process more so than from many other areas of national decision-making. Whether the actual policies would be different if more women had been actively involved over the past five, ten, twenty years is an academic matter. They were not. To avoid future criticisms of politicization, the United States must take the necessary steps to insure that women are not only representing their country and government but also that they have actively participated in the preparations and policy determinations preceding such meetings. We must move forward on the Foreign Policy Directive on the Worldwide Status and Rights of Women. Only then will it be possible to assert, unequivocally, that the policies are truly representative of the American people, the American government and American women.

The United States' vote against the Program of Action generated a great deal of uncertainty about possible repercussions. Would the U.S. still be able to continue participating in the UN Decade for Women and what does that mean? How would our leadership in the international women's movement be affected? Would we be able to participate in the End-of-the-Decade Conference tentatively scheduled for 1985? Furthermore, there have been questions raised as to the viability of the United Nations system as an agent of change, a vehicle for improving the status of women. And, many U.S. women have subsequently--pointedly asked--both in follow-up meetings and through correspondence directed to the Secretary of State, whether or not the "no" vote stands as a specific example of the trade-off of women's rights and feminism for our foreign policy commitment to Israel. Some women actively petitioned the Secretary of State and the President to change the U.S. vote on the Program of Action, to either a yes or an abstention; an equal number of women wrote stressing the importance of maintaining our original stance and voting no.

The Department of State reaffirmed support for the cause of women's rights internationally by sending the Convention on the Elimination on all Forms of Discrimination Against Women to the President; by continuing the work of women's issues through support of the International Women's Program office; by maintaining its commitment to the UN Voluntary Fund for Women; and by continuing to actively solicit the views of American women on foreign policy matters.

However, the challenge to our foreign policy on the State of Israel was one that could not be ignored. Any other action by the United States at the World Conference would have been construed as a major change in Middle East policy; and that would have been incorrect and misleading. Our continued commitment to Israel is a long-standing matter of integrity and principle. It is very unfortunate that our negative vote has been be characterized as an either/or situation, it was not and is not.

Mr. Ben Read, Under Secretary for Management, Department of State, in his speech at the September 17, 1980 debriefing on the Copenhagen Conference, stressed that the Department of State will continue to actively encourage women to participate in foreign policy, and Secretary Muskie has reaffirmed his commitment to the Foreign Policy Directive.

Finally, the United States plans on continuing participation in the UN Decade for Women. Although it is a deplorable situation that we as a government cannot hope to support forever all the documents relating to the Decade, our support for the goals of the World Plan of Action have not changed; and we as a government will continue to work for the attainment of women's equality both nationally and internationally throughout the remaining years of the Decade.

XVIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

During discussions held after the Copenhagen Conference, American women, both inside and outside of government, have made recommendations to the Department of State concerning ways for the United States to continue active participation in the United Nations Decade for Women. While all the subsequent recommendations have not been approved by the Department of State for action or implementation, they are set forth below for consideration now and possible action in the future. Many of these recommendations reflect the best thinking of both the U.S. delegation and hundreds of representatives of American women's organizations and should receive serious consideration.

1. The Department of State should expand its institutional ability to deal with women's issues by immediately establishing at the Secretary or Deputy Secretary level an Office for Women's Concerns.

An ACTION MEMORANDUM was sent to the Secretary of State requesting the immediate establishment of this office. To date there has been no reply.

2. The Department of State should create a U.S. National Commission on the UN Voluntary Fund for Women similar to the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO.

Women are primarily concerned with continued and increased U.S. support of the UN Voluntary Fund for Women. A National Commission would provide an institutional support system for this Fund. An ACTION MEMORANDUM is currently being prepared on this recommendation for submission to the Secretary of State.

3. Women's organizations as a result of the Copenhagen Conference support the idea of convening a second National Women's Conference prior to 1985.

The Continuing Committee of the National Women's Conference is currently exploring the possibility of convening a second national women's conference. It is questionable that such a meeting would be financed by Federal funds, however it is possible that the meeting may be held independent of government. The purpose of the meeting would be similar to the objectives of the Copenhagen Conference--review, appraisal and development of progressive strategies.

4. The Department of State and the President are urged to transmit to the Senate, as soon as possible, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

The Convention was submitted to the Senate November 12, 1980.

5. The Department of State should allow adequate time and resources for thorough preparations for the End-of-the-Decade Conference tentatively scheduled for 1985.

It has been shown that the scope of issues which are discussed at a World Conference for Women are diverse, political and complex. After decisions are made by both the United Nations and the United States convening and participating in the expected End-of-the-Decade Conference, the Department of State should immediately begain preparations.

6. American Women should be actibely encouraged to participate in the foreign policy decision making process.

This recommendation has been adequately discussed in prior sections of this report and needs no further elaboration as to its importance.

TAB NOTE:

The "Report of the United States Delegation to the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace", when formally submitted to the Secretary of State in January 1981 was accompanied by a series of documents. These have been cited in the Report by Tab #'s. However, because of the bulk of this material, it is impossible to include the documents in their entirety in this copy of the Report. Limited quantities of some of the cited documentation is available through the:

International Women's Program Office
IO/IWP - Room 1427
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Written requests will be honored if at all possible.

TAB CITATIONS:

Tab #1: U.S. Questionnaire Response

Tab #2: U.S. Country Papers:
- a) Health
- b) Education
- c) Employment
- d) Summarized Version

Tab #3: *UNITED STATES WOMEN: Issues and Progress in the UN Decade for Women 1976-1985*
Department of State publication #9146

Tab #4: Biographical Information on the U.S. Delegation to the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women.

Tab #5: Copenhagen Conference Scope Paper

Tab #6: Copenhagen Conference Documentation

Tab #7: U.S. National Speech

Tab #8: President Jimmy Carter's Message to the Conference

Tab #9: United Nations' Report of the World Conference, including the Program Action and Resolutions

Tab #10: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

Tab #11: Speech of Koryne K. Horbal, U.S. Representative to the UN Commission on the Status of Women given during debate on the Copenhagen Conference in the Third Committee of the 35th UN General Assembly

Tab #13: *Forum* 80, July 14-30.

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